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ABSTRACT

This monograph presents a historical and theoretical review of homosexuality followed by a study of the self-perception of homosexuals. History bears out that homosexuality has always been one aspect of human sexuality and was more prominent in other periods of human history, depending on societal attitudes and mores. At present, many authors agree that "labeling theory" has a major impact on how the deviant behaves and how he views himself. The subjects in the present study consisted of 26 male and 27 female homosexuals; they were administered a questionnaire and a self-concept scale. The results show that, as hypothesized, the majority of respondents viewed themselves as being born homosexual; more women than men desired and had long-lasting love relationships in homosexual encounters; more men than women were less well adjusted in their deviance; and finally more women than men in the sample believed in sexual fidelity between gay lovers. The monograph ends with appendices that include the questionnaires used and the occupations of respondents by sex and age. (SE)

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CRIMINAL JUSTICE MONOGRAPH

Vol. VI, No. 3

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THE SELF PERCEPTION OF MALE AND FEMALE HOMOSEXUALS

William Henry Sisson III

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Vol. VI, No. 3

The Self Perception of Male and Female Offenders

William Henry Sisson III

INSTITUTE OF CONTEMPORARY CORRECTIONS
AND THE BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES
SAM HOUSTON STATE UNIVERSITY
Huntsville, Texas 77340

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INTRODUCTION

Only a casual review of available literature, both popular and professional, is sufficient to illustrate the wide diversity of conflicting opinion regarding the sexual behavior commonly defined as "homosexual" specifically, and the behavior defined as "deviant" generally. Positions on homosexuality and deviance are not only divided, as might be expected, along general theoretical orientations, but disagreement within specific schools of thought is common. Added to the spectrum of professional opinion regarding homosexuality and deviance is a vast array of popular emotional reaction, myth and misconception regarding the homosexual as a deviant.

THE PROBLEM

Concommitant with the above, it is to be expected also that the diversity of opinion must leave its mark on the object of the controversy—the homosexual. Although there have been several studies in the areas of deviant behavior and homosexuality, there is constant need to explore on a continuing basis the attitudes of specific types of deviants—in this case the homosexual. The reason for this need is almost a truism: human values are constantly in a state of flux and the changes are relevant to the attitudes held by the deviant and the non-deviant.

In studying deviant behavior one is impressed, if not overwhelmed, with the plurality of theories and opinions purported to account for deviance. They run the gamut from sin and possession by the devil, through Lombroso and his atavistic anomolies, to more current ideas by Sutherland, Glaser, Jeffrey, Merton, Schur, Becker, and a host of others. Therefore, the problem dealt with in this study was to depict briefly the history of attitudes and values concerning homosexuality from ancient times to the present, and to describe—by means of a questionnaire and a self-concept inventory—contemporary views about homosexuals, these views being those espoused by a sample of American homosexuals.

Importance of the Problem

Regardless of the orientation accepted as valid, serious students of the problem acknowledge that homosexual behavior in contemporary society results in serious consequences both for the individual and for society as a whole. In order to alleviate the social problems associated with homosexuality, there must be continuing research into attitudes of deviants and non-deviants alike with a view toward mutual understanding and tolerance. At first glance, it might appear that a discussion of the deviance of homosexuality would be largely academic, but such is not the case. The price of ignorance as paid in human misery is evident to even the casual observer. Homosexuals are labeled, processed, stigmatized in large measure because in many cases the dominant society does not understand that in most cases a singular deviant aspect of one's personality does not necessarily taint or warp the entire personality. For example, a homosexual who conducts his sexual life in the privacy of his residence, and who otherwise is an acceptable—even outstanding—professional person can be irreparably damaged in his professional career should his deviance become known and he is reacted to according to the applied deviant label.

On an even more practical level, anyone in law enforcement, social work, or related fields who is called upon to deal with homosexuals will find that a knowledge of the history of homosexuality and the attitudes of deviants themselves is invaluable. It becomes evident to researchers who have contact with homosexuals that the intellectual homosexual is well supplied generally with knowledge or pseudo-knowledge on both topics and gains somewhat of a psychological advantage over the uninformed investigator or social worker.

THE PURPOSE

It was the purpose of this study to examine briefly the history of homosexuality in Western Civilization as a setting for the thrust of the study, vis., to ascertain the self-conception of a sample of American homosexuals and to present some demographic data concerning the elements in the sample. Since much of the deviance of homosexuality is hidden deviance, each study which is based upon empirical data gained by access to the homosexual community or sub-culture, or parts thereof, adds immeasurably to our understanding of the deviance. This study was so based. The questionnaires and self-concept tests were mailed to two female homosexuals known to the researcher. Each of these persons distributed the material to homosexual acquaintances of their's who then completed the questionnaires and tests and mailed them directly back to the researcher. As can be expected, there are limitations to the generalizations which can be made from the data. The generalizations made in this study are limited necessarily to the sample used. It is hoped that this study, based on contemporary research, may add in some measure to knowledge in the field of deviance as it pertains to homosexuality.

BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

Since the instruments used in this study were administered by mail, it was assumed by this researcher that the respondents have answered in an honest manner the questions asked of them.

Furthermore, although the questionnaire as an in-

strument was pretested prior to mailing it to the respondents used in this study, it is assumed that the respondents understood the questions and that the operational definitions used were adequate to the task.

BASIC QUESTIONS

The basic questions posed to guide this study were: (1) What effect have the variables being observed had on the directing of a person to a homosexual lifestyle? (2) Just how deviant do the subjects of this study feel in a predominantly heterosexual society? (3) Do these deviants wish that they were not deviant, or are they adjusted to their deviance? (4) Do these persons visualize their deviant commitment as irreversible?

HYPOTHESES

The hypotheses generated by the contemplation of this study were as follows:

(1) The vast majority of the respondents will view themselves as being born homosexual—that they had no control over their eventual manifestation of deviance. This would provide them with a simple, non-refutable rationalization for their deviance.

(2) That more women than men in the sample desire long-lasting love relationships in homosexual encounters. This would be in keeping with the popular view within normal society.

(3) That more women than men in the sample have had enduring homosexual love relationships. This would also be in keeping with the popular view within normal society.

(4) That more men than women in the sample are less well adjusted in their deviance. It is assumed that Lesbians enjoy a lower profile than do male homosexuals, thus more men than women are anxious about maintaining their secret deviance.

(5) That more men than women in the sample entered a deviant lifestyle at an earlier age. This would be in keeping with the traditional concept that men are more aggressive sexually than women.

(6) That more women than men in the sample believe in sexual fidelity between gay lovers. This is popularly thought to be true in straight society. Men also have more access to partners via bars and the like since women in our society—gay or straight—seldom frequent bars on their own.

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

As mentioned above, the thrust of this study was directed toward measuring the self-concept of a sample of American homosexuals. In addition, some demographic data were elicited, and the groups were compared according to such variables as sex, educational background, etc. As a facilitating background for the study, a review of pertinent literature on homosexuality was given to set the framework for the discussion to follow. Sources of information for the historical essay included primary sources of the period, secondary sources and whatever else was available and deemed useful. The data obtained from the questionnaires were transported to tables depicting simple relationships between dependent, independent, and intervening variables. The design was constructed to show comparisons between male and female respondents. The comparisons were made by indicating the number and percentage of responses to particular questions. Since the study was intended to be descriptive in nature, the analytical tool employed was a statistical comparison of male and female respondents. The statistical results obtained from the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale (TSCS) in order to lend validity and reliability to the questionnaire data by comparing it to an already standardized instrument.

The Sample

The sample consisted of subjects who were accessible to this researcher through two primary contacts in the homosexual community. Thus, the sample was incidental rather than random, but it has been justified on the basis that access to deviants whose exposure would be inimical to themselves must be gained without probability of such exposure.

Variables

There were two dependent variables to be observed in this study. One was the self-concept of the subjects as measured by the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale (TSCS) and some questions in the questionnaire. The other was involvement in the homosexual lifestyle as measured by the results of the TSCS and other questions in the questionnaire.

The independent variables affecting the self-concept of the subjects for the purpose of measuring that self-concept were contained in the score sheet of the TSCS. The publishers of the TSCS provide a computer analysis of the results of the test. Explicitly these variables—as delineated in Burro's **Mental Measurement Yearbook,** Vol. I, 1-544 (1972), in an article by Peter M. Bentler, Ph. D.—are identity, self-satisfaction, behavior, physical self, moral-ethical self, personal self, family self and social self. Each of these portions of the self are viewed via the test, and the composite score yields the total self-concept.

The intervening variables thought to affect commitment to or involvement in the homosexual lifestyle, which were manipulated in this study, were familiar rela-

tionships, extracurricular school activities, and religious affiliation and activity. These variables were observed with a view toward discerning whether or not they are related significantly to the development of a homosexual lifestyle.

Instruments

There were two instruments used in the completion of this study. One was the TSCS, and the other was a questionnaire devised by this researcher, the contents of which were the result of his review of the literature regarding deviance and homosexuality. The questionnaire was pretested on eleven subjects before use.

The TSCS has been reviewed critically in Burro's **Mental Measurement Yearbook**, Volume I, 1-544 (1972) by Peter M. Bentler, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Psychology, University of California, Los Angeles; and by Richard M. Suinn, Ph.D., Professor of Psychology and Associate Head of the Department, Colorado State University, Fort Collins, Colorado. (See Chapter III for a recounting of these reviews).

Procedure Used to Acquire Data

Through two primary homosexual contacts known to this researcher, each respondent was provided a copy of the TSCS and related materials, a copy of the questionnaire devised by the researcher, and a stamped, self-addressed envelope for the return of the TSCS packet and questionnaire to the researcher. (See Chapter III for further details).

In the following chapter will be found a literature review concerning homosexuality and deviance set forth in two parts: a historical review and a theoretical review.

LITERATURE REVIEW

HOMOSEXUAL BEHAVIOR and WESTERN CIVILIZATION: A HISTORICAL REVIEW

In the course of human history, the focus of public attention frequently has been drawn to the social problems resulting from homosexual behavior. This attention has tended to be sporadic and concentrated in certain periods of the history of Western Civilization. Thus, the question might naturally arise as to whether social conditions brought the homosexual into conflict with society only during certain periods of history, or whether, on the contrary, homosexuality was practiced extensively only during specific historical periods. The brief survey of the history of Western Civilization that follows will attempt to suggest an answer to this question, as well as to provide a literature review.

MYTHOLOGY AND SEX

An examination of the content of the oldest known myths reveals that man has always devoted considerable thought to the creation of the world and that he has usually been inclined to attribute the creation to some form of sexual activity. In a similar manner, man has created his deities through a semi-sexual mating of natural elements such as the wind, sea, and earth. A homosexual relationship was presumed to exist between the mythical Hindu gods **Varuna**, the supreme head of the Aryan pantheon, and **Mitra**, the Lord of Fecundity.[1] Many myths picture the origin of man in a composite body, part male and part female, with eventual separation. The Hindu god **Siva** is pictured in myth as half male and half female, and the Greek goddess **Aphrodite** was originally a genius of war and combat as well as the patroness of passion.[2]

Gordon has pictured the early history of mankind as a period when sexual activity was promiscuous, and no connection was understood between coitus, pregnancy and paternity.[3] The connection, however, between the mother and the child was obvious, and this fact, coupled with man's need for food, led to the worship of gods of fertility which were assumed to control both the fertility of the land and the fertility of the woman. As a result, some believed early societies to have been matriarchates. About a century ago Bachofen, a Swiss scholar, posited that early societies were indeed matriarchial, and the great supernatural power was seen as a female.[4] He continues that eventually man realized his paternal importance, his power of continuing himself through his descendants. He usurped woman's glory and power. Woman was downgraded, and private property developed along with the customs of descent and inheritance through the male. The female became merely a vessel, a chattel, an instrument of the male in a man's world. Subsequently, the role of the sun in agricultural fertility was discovered, and the sun also came to be worshipped as a symbol of fertility. With the eventual realization of the connection between coitus and pregnancy, man turned to worship of the phallus as another source of fertility, and the patriarchal system gained prominance. The practice of phallus worship has been traced into the distant past. The earliest records of the Hindus and the Egyptians regarded worship as a long-established custom, predating Christianity by thousands of years with intricate systems of theology[5] Phallus worship was a solemn religious ceremony that often included public performance of coitus.[6]

SEMITIC DEVELOPMENTS

As early cultures matured and Assyria and Babylonia rose to prominence, the primitive phallic religions became more sophisticated, and religious duties were specialized in select cults of priests and priestesses who were organized around specific places of worship and devoted to particular gods. In temples built on hills, the cult of priests assumed the function of initiating virgins and furnishing sexual instruction to adolescent children of both sexes.[7] One of the most prolific of the Semitic gods was **Molech**. Eunnuch priests of **Molech** are described as beautiful, beardless young men with bodies soft and fragrant from the use of oils and perfumes, who sold themselves to the worshippers of their god. Eventually, the priests of **Molech** authorized female worshippers, and thereafter priestesses of **Molech** prostituted themselves to the female faithful. These women worshippers subsequently initiated the practice of casting their babies into the roaring sacrificial fires of **Molech**.[8]

From solemn ceremonies worshipping fertility, public sexual relations degenerated into sexual orgies and organized systems of heterosexual and homosexual prostitution.[9] During the period of transition it became an obligation for unmarried women to prostitute themselves to strangers in the various religious temples and donate their earnings to the incumbent god or goddess.[10] Edwardes has suggested that the pressures of an expanding population led to a permissive and encouraging attitude toward sodomy outside the realm of religious worship. The Persian Code fostered sodomy in both social and theological practice.[11] Against this setting of sanctified sexual promiscuity and sanctioned sodomy, the Israelites began their battle for sexual morality and monotheism.

THE MORAL REVOLUTION OF THE ISRAELITES

In the eighth century B.C. the prophets of the Israel-

ites, under the growing pressure of the aggressive Babylonian and Assyrian empires, attacked the sexual indulgences and polytheistic beliefs of earlier periods and advocated the worship of one God, Jehovah, in one centralized location at Jerusalem. Strict restraints were placed on sexual excesses and the worship of any god but Jehovah.

> And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying . . . Whosoever he be of the children of Israel, or of the strangers that sojourn in Israel, that giveth any of his seed unto Molech, he shall surely be put to death; the people of the land shall stone him with stones. (Leviticus 10:1, 2)

Edwardes denies an entirely moral basis to the prohibition of sodomy by Moses and suggests that an underlying cause was, again, found in a desire to regulate propagation. The Israelite tribes were weak in numbers and survival required that their strength be increased. Thus, Moses prohibited not only sodomy, but also celibacy, onanism, bestiality and other forms of sexual deviation and variety not leading to propagation.[12]

Cole has attributed the prohibition of homosexual behavior in Israel to its close link with the use of male cult prostitutes by pagan religions in neighboring areas of the Fertile Crescent. The association of homosexuality with idolatry provided sufficient cause for Hebrew religious leaders to reject the practice.[13] In addition, Cole has hypothesized another, and in many ways more intriguing, reason for the antagonism of the Israelites toward the homosexual of bisexual phenomena. He proposes the existence of a psychological or ethnic concept that the differences between the sexes are rooted in nature by the Creator and that any confusion of the sex differences is abnormal and unnatural. This was the culture of the absolute patriarchy: man was man. Man was the ruler of the family; his power and strength determined the fate of his family and what he was his family was. If the family leader was guilty of a crime, it was not uncommon to punish his entire family, just as it was believed that the Hebrew tribes suffered if their leader fell into error. Thus, something in the natural order of creation was violated basically when the male was not the leader of his family and sexual differences were diffused.[14]

In any event, sexual behavior once considered sacred came to be regarded as sinful and unnatural in Israel in the centuries preceding the birth of Christ. During the same period the Israelites grew to anticipate an after-life as some compensation for the sensuous pleasures they abandoned in this life.[15] Edwardes suggests that the restrictive decrees of Moses were not successful and that the worship of **Molech** continued largely unchecked.[16] Patai supports this contention and adds that, as opposed to law, in actual practice male homosexuality was rampant in Biblical times and has remained so in the Middle east to the present time.[17] The question of whether or not the Israelite prohibition on homosexual behavior was effective and whether it was utilitarian or ethical in basis is academic to this discussion. Suffice it to note that the legal prohibition and its associated value system was transmitted almost intact to early Christianity and formed what Karlen has described as the Christian bedrock.

THE OLD TESTAMENT

The Old Testament of the Bible is at least partially a record of the battle of the Hebrews against the evils of sensuous sexuality and their efforts to stress the spiritual aspects of sexual relationships.[18] Following the exilic period, prohibitions against homosexual conduct are abundant and clearly stated.[19]

> Even as Sodom and Gomorrah, and the cities about them in like manner, giving themselves over to fornication, and going after strange flesh, are set forth for an example, suffering the vengeance of eternal fire. (Jude 7) Thou shall not lie with mankind as with womankind: it is abomination. (Leviticus 18:22) If a man also lie with mankind as he lieth with a woman, both of them have committed an abomination: they shall surely be put to death; their blood shall be upon them. (Leviticus 20:13)

The earliest mention of homosexuality in the Old Testament concerns the city of Sodom, from which the term sodomy emerged. According to the story in Genesis 19:1-11, two "angels of Yahweh" visited the city of Sodom and became the house guests of Lot, nephew of Abraham. During the evening the entire male population of Sodom surrounded the home and demanded that Lot produce the two strangers that the population could "know them." Lot refused to turn out the strangers and instead offered his two virgin daughters to the crowd in compensation. The Sodomites refused to accept the daughters and attempted to force their way into the home. The "angels of Yahweh" struck the attackers blind, but the incident sealed the fate of Sodom, which was destroyed the following day.

In I Kings 14:22-24 the homosexual problem again becomes a matter of concern.

> Judah did what was evil in the sight of Yahweh, and they provoked him to jealousy with their sins which they committed, more than all that their fathers had done. For they also built for themselves high places, and pillars,[20] and Asherim on every high hill and under every green tree; and there were also male cult prostitutes in the land.

It is apparent that religious homosexuality was still very

much in existence. The male cult prostitutes were apparently a common phenomenon during the years of the Hebrew Monarchy, with some kings supporting them and some kings exterminating them.[21] In spite of the continued existence of the homosexual cults as a social reality, the law of the Hebrews never relented in its opposition. In Deuteronomy 23:17-18 another warning is issued: "There shall be no cult prostitute ... of the sons of Israel. You shall not bring the hire of a harlot, or the wages of a dog,[22] into the house of Yahweh your God in payment for any vow... ."

The magnitude of the Israelite struggle to establish a new moral order can be appreciated only when considered in the social arena in which it occurred. During this period homosexuality was largely an accepted practice, backed with religious sanctions, in the lands surrounding Israel. In Egypt paedestry was a form of worship, and officials of the Pharoah's court purchased young boys for use in religious services.[23] The **hiremmaum**, a form of bath house, was a center for all types of sexual activities including orgiastic sodomy. Egyptian peasants were encouraged from birth to engage in every variety of sexual gratification from sodomy to bestiality.[24] Homosexual love was practiced widely, as briefly noted above, in all countries of the eastern Mediterranean, a fact proposed by Lewinsohn, supported by Patai and described in intimate detail by Edwardes.[25]

THE NEW TESTAMENT

In contrast to the Old Testament, the New Testament of the Bible is comparatively silent on the subject of homosexuality. This is particularly surprising in view of the prevalence of the problem in the Graeco-Roman world. Homosexuality is not mentioned by Jesus, a fact which Cole suggests is due to his origin in Palestine, a remote province under strict Jewish law and custom.[26] Cole's explanation would appear to leave something to be desired in the light of the estimates of widespread homosexuality by students of the subject.[27]

The Apostle Paul, whose missionary zeal and prolific epistles formulated the language and systematized the doctrines of early Christianity, was one of the few New Testament figures specifically to condemn homosexual behavior. In Romans 1:18-28 Paul warns:

> The wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and wickedness of men who by their wickedness suppress the truth. For what can be known about God is plain to them, because God has shown it to them. Ever since the creation of the world his invisible nature, namely, his eternal power and deity, has been clearly perceived in the things that have been made. So they are without excuse; for although they knew God they did not honor him as God or give thanks to him, but they became futile in their thinking and their senseless minds were darkened. Claiming to be wise, they became fools, and exchanged the glory of the immortal God for images resembling mortal man or birds or animals or reptiles. Therefore God gave them up in their lusts of their hearts to impurity, to the dishonoring of their bodies among themselves, because they exchanged the truth about God for a lie and worshipped and served the creature rather than the Creator, who is blessed forever! Amen. For this reason God gave them up to dishonorable passions. Their women exchanged natural relations for unnatural, and the men likewise gave up natural relations with women and were consumed with passion for one another, men committing shameful acts with men and receiving in their own persons the due penalty for their error. And since they did not see fit to acknowledge God, God gave them up to a base mind and to improper conduct.

Cole comments on the significance of Paul's tracing homosexuality to idolatry, the failure to know God properly. A lack of understanding of God leads to lack of understanding of one's self and the proper human role. Thus, homosexuality was seen by Paul as a symptom of inner disturbance in identity and relatedness, a view shared by contemporary psychotherapy.[28] In the Greek of the New Testament Paul used two terms, **arsenokoites** and **malakoi**, which have been interpreted as pertaining to homosexual behavior. **Arsenokoites**, which means the gth men, and **malakoi**, which means those who are soft or effeminate and who are sensualists, are both translated in the Revised Standard Version of the Bible by the single term "homosexual." The King James Version translates **malakoi** as "effeminate" and **arsenokoites** as "abusers of themselves with mankind."[29]

The absence of frequent reference to homosexual activity in the New Testament may be due, in part, to the fact that such behavior had, by this time, come to be included in the general term "immortality," which did appear frequently in the New Testament.[30]

THE GREEK WAY

Paul (Saul) was certainly not unaware of the phenomenon of homosexuality. He was born and raised in Tarsus, a city characterized by "degenerate, pagan temple worship" with orgies like those of Sodom and Gomorrah "...repeated nightly." Tarsus, where "the unrestrained dissoluteness of the Orient fused with the refined viciousness of the Greeks, "was the center of homosexual orgies and vice practiced by the followers of the Greek philosopher Plato and the pupils of the Greek Stoic school.[31] The Greek philosophers, especially Socrates

and Plato, turned their attentions to the aspects of love and passion at an early date. Both of these noble Greeks were bi-sexual and lived in a society where homosexuality was the way of life.[32] According to Karlen, however, the homosexuality of the ancient Greeks must be viewed in its overall social context in order to be understood properly.[33] In Greek society a man married for exceedingly practical purposes: to have children and to provide a home for his family.[34] Love and passion were not a part of his married life. Thus, the lower and middle class Greek men sought love and passion with prostitutes and mistresses, while the upper class Greek gentry turned to love of boys as well as patronizing prostitutes.[35] If Karlen's account of ancient Greek life is accurate, then homosexuality was prevalent only in the upper class, the lower and middle classes looking upon the practice with disdain. It was thought by some among the male Greek elite that love between two men was richer in companionship and understanding than was love between a man and a woman and the rationale for this philosophy was that two men had more in common than could be the case in a heterosexual union.[35]

No adequate physiological explanation for the relatively high incidence of homosexual behavior in Greece has ever been discovered, and in the absence of any known physiological difference between the Greeks and their contemporaries, it has been assumed that any explanation must lie in sociological factors.[37] At any rate, it is reported that male prostitution was practiced extensively in Greece after the sixth century and that such practice was generally lawful. Solon's famous law did require that citizens divert their homosexual love to youths of the citizen class in hope of preventing overt male prostitution and maintaining class dignity.[38]

The major work of Plato dealing with homosexual love is his **Symposium** which consists of a discussion between various members of the Greek elite on the topic of love. Plato has one speaker, Pansanias, make a distinction between profane love, based on physical satisfaction, and sacred love, based on spiritual harmony and intellectual attraction (Platonic love). Plato, through Pansanias, concludes that sacred love can only exist between males.[39] When his turn arrives to speak, Socrates, as quoted by Plato, concludes:

> Men whose bodies are only creative, betake themselves to women and beget children... . But creative souls—for there are men who are more creative in their souls than in their bodies—conceive that which is proper for the soul... . And such creators are all poets and other artists... . And he who is himself inspired...embraces the beautiful...and there is a union of the two in one person...they are bound together by a nearer tie and have a closer friendship than those who beget mortal children... .[40]

According to Plato, love of a woman was rudimentary and not worthy of the true spirit of the philosopher, but homosexual love should be sublimated in favor of the love of the Good, that love seeks the absolute beauty of the perfect and eternal ideas or forms.[41] Plato also apparently realized the dangers of paederasty in the literal sense of the term and urged laws to protect young boys from the attentions of homosexual suitors.[42] In actual practice, however, Greece never enacted any legislation prohibiting paedophily and paederasty unless such acts were accompanied by procuring.[43]

Although some scholars have denied the homosexual content of Plato's **Symposium** and maintain that the love discussed was an abstraction high above the level of sexuality,[44] the **Symposium** has grown through the ages to represent the "bible" of the intellectual homosexual.

Regarding Lesbianism during the period of ancient Greece, the phenomenon has been traced to a woman named Sappho, born in 612 B.C. in the town of Mytilene, on the island of Lesbos, off the coast of Asia Minor.[45] She ran a finishing school for upper class girls there, where she fell in love with many of her students. Sappho was the first to put romantic love into verse:

> ... as I look at you my voice fails, my tongue is broken and thin fire runs like a thief through my body. My eyes are dead to light, my ears pound, and sweat pours down over me. I shudder, I am paler than grass and am intimate with dying—but I must suffer everything, being poor.[46]

At the end of the second century B.C., Maximus of Tyre wrote of her:

> If it is right to argue from one age to another, the Lesbian's love was nothing else but that which Socrates practiced. Both seem to me to have engaged in the same kind of friendship, she of women, he of men, and both said they could fall in love many times and all beautiful people attracted them.[47]

Part of the background of homosexuality in Greek society stems from the relationships between husbands and wives, as mentioned above. Greek women were married to provide children and keep house. The men turned to whores and boys for pleasure. The women, being secluded in certain quarters of the home, turned to each other. Adultery was almost an impossibility. This gave occasion for the household women to satisfy each other using an instrument called an olisbos—an artificial phallus fashioned from leather, and the instrument and its use are chronicled in what remains of ancient Greek writings.[48]

THE ROMAN POSITION

The Romans, who invented the word "sex," are described by Lewinsohn as believers in full and active sex lives throughout their history. They regarded the sex instinct as a natural force and were prone to liberal views on virginity and adultery. He adds, however, that they restricted their approval to sexual relations between male and female and rejected "abnormal" practices, especially homosexuality, as beneath the dignity of the true Roman.[49] If this is an accurate account of the attitude of the Roman people it cannot be the position taken by their late Emperors who were notorious paederasts.

Tiberius, Emperor from 14 to 37 A.D.,[50] abandoned women in his declining years and devoted himself to debaucheries involving both homosexual and heterosexual activities.[51] His successor, Caligula, was so gross in his sexual abnormalities that he has been classified as psychotic. His abuses are reported to have covered the spectrum from homosexual to heterosexual behavior in all forms.[52] Nero, Emperor from 54 to 57 A.D.,[53] violated both married women and "freeborn lads." Suetonius reports:

> ... he gelded the boy Sporus, and endeavored to transform him into a woman. He even went so far as to marry him, with all the usual formalities of a marriage settlement, the rosecoloured nuptial veil, and a numerous company at the wedding. When the wedding was over, he had him conducted like a bride to his own house, and treated him like a wife .... After he had defiled every part of his person with some unnatural pollution, he at last invented an extraordinary kind of diversion; which was, to be let out of a den in the arena, covered with the skin of a wild beast, and then assail with violence the private parts both of men and women, while they were bound to stakes. After he had vented his furious passion upon them, he finished the play in the embraces of his freedman, Doryphorus, to whom he was married in the same way that Sporus had been married to himself; imitating the cries and shrieks of young virgins, when they are ravished.[54]

Hadrian is credited by Lewinsohn as being the only homosexual emperor that the Roman people tolerated.[55] This toleration is attributed to the fact that Hadrian brought peace to the Empire and spent most of his time in Greece, where paederasty was known to flourish.[56] Shortly after the reign of Hadrian, during the second century A.D., the Roman Empire entered the period of sharp decline that ushered in the "Dark Ages" in Western Civilization.

During this period in the Empire, female homosexuality existed, but apparently far less than among males. The olisbos was mentioned frequently in Latin literature, usually used by women for masturbation, but sometimes allegedly for tribadic intercourse.[55] The poets Juvenal and Martial give a vivid picture of homosexual behavior in their society, more detailed and specific than is available for any other period in our distant past.[57]

THE MIDDLE AGES

As the Roman Empire declined, the Christian Church sought the aid of Roman law in regulating the morals and sexual practices of Europeans. The Justinian Code of the sixth century made homosexual acts punishable by "torture, mutilation and public display of guilty persons prior to their execution."[58]

Needless to say, the harshness of the Justinian Code had little influence on the problem of homosexuality. By the thirteenth century knighthood and feudalism were in bloom, and a spirit of chivalry characterized sexual behavior. Unfortunately, chivalry did not extend to lower classes, and the feudal baron and his male followers resorted to periodic raids on the peasant women or to various homosexual practices. True knighthood, the church, and a few kings attempted to stem the tide of demoralization which engulfed the people as a result of the earlier barbaric invasions, but these efforts were, for the most part, ineffective. One of the better known efforts was the series of crusades which not only failed, but also contributed to further demoralization through contacts with Oriental cultures which advocated greater license in sexual practices, especially homosexuality.[59]

The task of the church in bringing morality and organization into the "Dark Ages" was further complicated by a widespread belief in magic and witchcraft. Black Mass and Witches' Sabbath, holdovers from earlier Jewish holidays observed to appease the heathen gods, were revived and quickly degenerated into anti-Christian, Satanical orgies which included homosexual behavior.[60] Seventh century penitentials (religious codes which define offenses and establish penalties) of the Irish Church demand one year's penance for the first offense of homosexuality and seven years penance for sodomy. The Anglo-Saxon Church during the same period demanded ten years penance for sodomy with man or beast, three years penance for female homosexual acts, and forty days penance for a husband who practiced "unnatural intercourse" with his wife. In contrast, witchcraft required twelve months fasting and homicide by witchcraft demanded seven years of fasting.[61]

In general, authors in the Middle Ages avoid reference to homosexuality or referred to it in such terms as "unnatural lust." Available direct references are, however, critical of homosexual behavior, and there is no evidence that such conduct was absent during the "Dark Ages" in Europe. With the spread and ascendance of Christianity, homosexuality was a matter for the ecclesiastical courts. (**The Compendium of Canon Law** declared "sodomis imperfecta"—defined as unnatural coitus between a cou-

ple either male or female—to be a matter for the church.)[62] From the middle of the "Dark Ages" on, charges of sexual misconduct in monasteries and convents increased, and Lesbians during this period were thought to be witches possessed by the Devil and were burned at the stake.[63]

RENAISSANCE, REFORMATION AND COUNTER-REFORMATION

The era of the Renaissance introduced revolutionary changes in sexual thought and conduct. The human body, both male and female, became subjects for the artist as earlier restrictions were swept aside in a swing to opposite extremes. In 1524, Giulio Romano, a pupil of the famous Raphael and an artist for the Vatican in Rome, ventured to depict postures of coitus in sixteen pictures. His action resulted in papal intervention and the project was suppressed, but his audacity was characteristic of the Renaissance revolt against conventional morality. The reaction of the Church to the new concepts of sexual freedom expressed in the Renaissance was an unyielding adherence to earlier laws of morality. Lewinsohn sees the drift of public conduct away from the laws of the Church as a major factor in the Reformation. Following the Reformation break with the Church in Rome, any concessions by the Roman Church in the way of liberalizing sexual conduct would have been interpreted as a victory for the rebellious movement, and the Roman Church was, therefore, forced into a renewed drive for conventional morality, in effect a Counter-Reformation. During the period of this Counter-Reformation, unlawful heterosexual relations became dangerous and, according to Lewinsohn, homosexual practices, especially between women, became quite frequent in, at least, court society in Spain, Italy and France.[64]

During this period, according to Karlen, accounts of Lesbianism began to appear for the first time since the ancient world. Such works as Ariosto's "Orlando Furioso," the French version of "La Fleur Lascive Orientale" and, to some degree, in Shakespeare in "Twelfth Night" and "As You Like It," are some examples.[65]

THE AGE OF GALLANTRY

The period from 1639 to 1789 has been referred to by Lewinsohn as the Golden Age of mistresses, an age of sexual looseness in the upper classes. The philosophy of this age held that women were made for love and had an active right to love, including the right to change lovers as often as they cared to. In this setting, love between men was absolutely forbidden as "ungallant."[66] Again, there is no reason to believe that social attitudes succeeded in eliminating homosexual behavior. On the contrary, homosexual practices were kept on a discreet level even among the ruling classes. During the reign of Louis XIV, however, a homosexual scandal broke out in the Court of Versailles. Members of the highest nobility organized a "sodomite" order which took an oath to forego all relations with women. Members of the order concealed under their coats a golden cross showing a man trampling a woman underfoot. Louis XIV learned of the "order" and promptly took energetic action to put an end to the association. The repression of homosexual behavior during the eighteenth century generally extended throughout the continent of Europe and only in England did homosexuality gain acceptance as "fashionable" during the Age of Gallantry.[67]

In the literature of the period, Pierre de Brantome's **Lives of Gallant Ladies**, written in 1665, depicts Lesbianism in the French Court. This type of love, which he called "donna con donna," he attributed to importation to France from Italy. A case in point:

> I have heard of an honorable gentleman who, desiring one day at court to seek in marriage a certain very honorable damsel, did consult one of her kinswomen thereon. She told him frankly he would be wasting his time; for as she herself did tell me, such and such a lady, naming her ('twas one I had already heard talk of), will never suffer to marry. Instantly, I did recognize the hang of it, for I was well aware how she did keep this damsel at bed and board, and did guard her carefully... .[68]

He further told stories about women using "godmiches" (olisbos) and being injured by them. In all, he was amusedly tolerant of Lesbianism—he thought it wasn't bad for widows and unmarried girls; at least it was less a sin than fornication. "Moreover they deem they do not so much offend God, as if they had to do with men, maintaining there is a great difference between throwing water in a vessel and merely watering about it and round the rim."[69]

There appeared in England during this time a book called **Satan's Harvest Home: or the Present State of Whorecraft, Adultery, Fornication, Pimping, Sodomy, etc.** One section, entitled "Game of Flats," dealt with Lesbianism and the author claimed it had originated in Turkey but was now just as common in Twickenham, and was gaining ground among prostitutes and gentlewomen alike. There were many police drives against homosexuals in the 1780's, with the discovery of major homosexual rings in London and Exeter.[70] Eighteenth century pornography, memoirs and historical writings do show that Lesbianism was a familiar fact of life in the upper classes. As examples of the deviance, witness the case of Countess Sarolta Vay of Hungary, who dressed as a man and married another woman; and Catherina Margaretha Lincken, who was executed in 1721 for "sodomy," or homosexual intercourse with the use of an artificial phallus.[71] Homosexuality apparently gained prominance in England about the time of the Restoration. Elizabeth,

Duchess of Orleans, in a letter written in 1698, stated: "Nothing is more ordinary in England than this unnatural vice (sodomy)." Within fifty years the book **Roderick Random,** by Strutwell, mentions that "homosexuality gains ground apace and in all probability will become in a short time a more fashionable device than fornication."[72] Thus, the "gallantry" of the period was not limited to heterosexual relationships.

THE AGE OF THE PERVERT

To the casual observer the turn of the nineteenth to twentieth centuries appears truly to represent the "age of the pervert." All forms of sex deviates seemed suddenly to appear throughout society. The period found a great deal of newly acquired information on sexual behavior being made public and the subject of sex became a popular topic. Women were fighting for equal rights and the democratic spirit of the day expected the upper classes to conform to the general restrictions of the law. The upper classes, conditioned from ages of immunity from common restrictions on sexual behavior, resisted the new conformity and as a result sex-scandals gave the period the appearance of being particularly decadent.[73] The literature of the period is replete with references to Lesbianism. Such references occurred most commonly in French art and literature, usually depicted as written pornography had always tended to show them—sensual and uninhibited, like the unfettered pagans of libidinous imagination, who would indulge any and all desires.[74] Zola, a famed naturalist writer of the period, wrote a novel called **Nana** in 1880. Nana was a courtesan who destroyed men with her greed and cruelty, yet her own love relationships were entirely Lesbian. Some other works of the period dealt with Lesbianism also. Pierre Louys's **The Song of Bilitis,** Barbey d' Aurevilly's **Les Diaboliques,** and Catulle Mendes' **Mephistophelia** are all works written in this time which deal explicitly with Lesbianism. This was also the age of the sex-suicide of the Austrian Crown Prince Rudolf; the era of publication of the writings of the somewhat less obscure Leopold von Sacher-Masoch. The turn of the century was also the setting of numerous homosexual scandals, as noted by Taylor who is footnoted below, including the trial of Oscar Wilde and the famous homosexual power clique in Imperial Germany.

For one of the most controversial homosexuals in modern history, Oscar Wilde's early life was sexually unimpressive. Prior to reaching age forty he was married and the father of two children. He was generally regarded as cynical; however, any record of early homosexuality has been carefully concealed or is non-existent. He had, in fact, written a play on the perversion of Salome, but the work received little notice by the literary critics or the general public. The play was subsequently translated into French by a young poet, Lord Alfred Douglas. Late in 1894 the Marquess of Queensberry, the father of Douglas, accused Wilde of involvement in a homosexual relationship with his son. Wilde sued the Marquess for slander and lost his case. Trial for unnatural vice followed and Wilde was sentenced to two years in prison. The conviction destroyed Wilde's popularity as an author, and he died in 1900 on the Continent, an outcast from his native England.[75]

Maximilian Harden, the publisher of the respected Berlin periodical **Die Zukunft,** was the first to call public attention to the apparent rise to power within the Imperial German Court of William II of a clique of homosexuals. This clique, according to Harden, had gained the ear of William II and wielded more power than the regular ministers and court officials. He suggested that these homosexuals were part of an international brotherhood of perverts that could well place self-interest above the German national interest. This suggestion was, in fact reminiscent of similar charges heard during the reign of Louis XIV when the existence of an association of homosexuals was discovered among the courtiers at Versailles. The allegation proved to be well founded. In 1901 a Count Gunther von der Schulenburg sent a circular to certain of his friends that began: "I beg you to permit a person of equal rank and similar tastes to yourself to express in the following pages his ideas about a union of noble **urnings** (homosexuals)." It was Harden's belief that Schulenburg was a secondary figure in a circle that included Prince Philip zu Eulenburg and Hertefeld, the most powerful of William II's unofficial advisors. Without absolute proof, Harden began publishing in 1906 a series of articles which included obscure allusions to the court clique. The articles drew no response, and Harden became more explicit, finally mentioning names. As expected, Eulenburg sued, but Harden lost his case and spent four months in jail for his trouble. Harden, however, reopened the case and by a stroke of good fortune was able to locate two witnesses who had been procured by Eulengurg for homosexual practices. Judicial action was taken to charge Eulenburg with perjury as a result of his testimony in the earlier trial for slander, but Eulenburg became ill and was never tried. The results were the same, the power of the clique was destroyed, but what was more important, the people of Germany developed an interest in the subject of homosexuality and the affair ultimately resulted in the general discrediting of the rule of the monarchy in Germany.[76]

In the United States, wandering groups of homosexuals were not a rare sight in Greenwich Village, New York, in the thirties, and some homosexual bars existed downtown and midtown.[77] Some Lesbians were married to heterosexual men and had children or maintained marriages of convenience with bisexual or homosexual men.[78] Centers in this country where there is significant homosexual activity include Old Town and the Near North in Chicago, Boston's Beacon Hill and Back Bay, Philadelphia's Rittenhouse Square area, and New Orleans' French Quarter; parts of Los Angeles have come to be known locally as "the Swish Alps."[79]

Thus, the dissemination of misunderstood sexual knowledge and a few sensational individual cases gave the impression that the twentieth century entered with a wave of sexual deviation when, in actual fact, sexual deviation was probably no more extensively practiced than in earlier days.

TAYLOR'S SYNTHESIS

From the foregoing discussion it is apparent that sexual attitudes and activities in Western Civilization have varied extensively throughout history. It has been noted that in the case of homosexuality, the particular focus of this study, attitudes have ranged from permissive in early cultures of the Middle East to prohibitive in Jewish and Christian eras. In view of such obvious variations in the social attitudes toward sexual behavior, it would not be unreasonable to expect that some attempts would be made to formulate a thesis that would systematically account for such latitude. G. Rattray Taylor, in his book, **Sex in History,** has proposed just such a thesis based on certain psychoanalytic principles.[80] Briefly, Taylor's theory suggests that changes and contrasts in European sexual behavior[81] can be accounted for systematically in terms of identification with either paternal or maternal figures.

Psychoanalysts contend that children tend to identify with either the father, the mother, or both parents. The child who models himself on his father alone is likely to have a system of values and behavior patterns which are strongly masculine. Individuals who have made this adjustment are called **patrists** by Taylor. On the other hand, if the child models himself on the mother alone the personality is likely to be feminine in character. This individual is referred to by Taylor as a **matrist.** The theory then, in simple terms, is that at certain periods of time there was a predominating tendency for male children[82] to make the patriarchal identification, which resulted in all authoritarian and restrictive attitude on the part of society as a whole.[83] At other times the predominating identification was matrist and the resulting society was permissive and non-authoritarian.[84] The alternative adjustments are, of course, recognized. The child might identify equally with both parents and achieve a balanced adjustment and thereby create a harmonious society with moderate controls and maximum freedom of expression. Secondly, the child might reject both parent figures and develop as a self-centered personality, creating a ruthless and conscienceless society. It must be noted that these identifications represent extremes on a continuum and that when the social pattern as a whole is swinging from one identification to the other there will be transitional periods when the over-all pattern will be confused. Also, this is to say nothing regarding individual cases in any period; only the predominant social orientation is here considered.

As a consequence of his theory, Taylor has listed twelve major, contrasting systems of attitudes which would be typical of the patrist and the matrist societies. The attitude systems, which are presented in Figure 1, are obviously conflicting, with the matrist system advocating innovation, democratic processes, and a permissive, lenient approach to sexual deviations; and the patrist system supporting authoritarian methods in politics and organization, conservative solutions to practical problems, and restrictive attitudes toward sexual expression. For example, Taylor classifies the pre-Christian Celts as matrists and the Christian moralists as patrists.

What then, can Taylor's theory contribute to a discussion of homosexuality and history? Basically, homosexuality and incest form central concepts of his thesis. He finds that public attitude toward homosexuality in the patrist periods is strongly prohibitive and the practice of homosexuality is considered a grievous sin. On the other hand, in the matrist periods incest is regarded with horror and becomes a common preoccupation. The explanation for this phenomenon is found in the Oedipus situation. Homosexuality,[86] according to the Freudian explanation, is present in all persons. In the case of the patrist, the child identifies with the father in order to retain his mother's love, preserving his heterosexual love and repressing his homosexual love. The alternative solution is

	PATRIST		MATRIST
1.	Restrictive attitude toward sex	1.	Permissive attitude toward sex
2.	Limitation of freedom for women	2.	Freedom for women
3.	Women seen as inferior, sinful	3.	Women accorded high status
4.	Chastity more valued than welfare	4.	Welfare more valued than chastity
5.	Politically authoritarian	5.	Politically democratic
6.	Conservative: against innovation	6.	Progressive: revolutionary
7.	Distrust of research, enquiry	7.	No distrust of research
8.	Inhibition, fear of spontaneity	8.	Spontaneity: exhibition
9.	Deep fear of homosexuality	9.	Deep fear of incest
10.	Sex differences maximized (dress)	10.	Sex differences minimized
11.	Ascetisism, fear of pleasure	11.	Hedonism, pleasure welcomed
12.	Father—religion	12.	Mother—religion

Fig. 1.—Patrist and Matrist Attitudes as Components of Taylor's thesis*

*From G. Rattray Taylor, **Sex in History** (New York: Ballantine Books, 1954), p. 81.

for the individual to identify with the mother, taking her place to retain the father's love, thus retaining the homosexual love and repressing the heterosexual component.[87] In the latter case the individual although sexually "normal," tends to regard relations with women as mother-son situations and regards incest as a grievous sin.[88] The patrist, however, having repressed his homosexual component, consciously or unconsciously regards homosexuality as a serious temptation and expresses a rather supernatural horror of the entire subject. Thus, the attention focused on homosexuality at any point in history would be, according to Taylor, a function of social ideals influenced by parental introjections.[89]

As pointed out by Taylor, however, the suggestion that social ideals are the result of parental introjections is not an explanation, but only a convenient method of analysis. Explanation awaits the result of investigation to determine why certain identifications were, or were not, made during specific periods in history, a question the solution of which may lie far afield from Freudian theory. In actuality, the Freudian basis of Taylor's thesis may be disregarded completely and investigation pursued to determine if his concept of contrasting patterns of social ideals is valid in itself. Given the validity, other explanations may be sought. The comparatively extensive attention given in this discussion to Taylor's work is not a result of any overpowering persuasiveness inherent in his thesis, but is rather an attempt to illustrate the possiblity of the development of a systematic explanation of history from a sexual perspective and to present what may have been Taylor's most valuable contribution—the suggestion that "attitudes on sex are not random products, but are closely integrated with attitudes to political and religious matters, and indeed with the culture as a whole."[90]

Deviance and Labeling Theory:
A Theoretical Review

It seems fitting to begin a discussion of labeling theory and deviance with a discussion of what Harold Garfinkel termed "status degradation" and "status degradation ceremonies."[91] Status degradation and the ceremony which produces it is defined by Garfinkel as "... any communicative work between persons, whereby the public identity of an actor is transformed into something looked on as lower in the social scheme of social types ... ."[92] Although Garfinkel's paper concerned a public ceremony with a well-delineated ritual, a person's status can be and often is degraded without benefit of such a ceremony. Labeling theory, as applied through community knowledge of one's deviance, is just as effective in reducing a person's status as is a public criminal trial. The deviance having become known, the person living the deviance has the misfortune of having the deviance imputed to his entire personality. Not only that, but his personality, in total, is viewed by others as different now. As Garfinkel stated it, in regard to the ritual destruction of the denounced person, it must be kept in mind that the offender cannot be viewed as the same individual he was before discovery of his offense, but rather he must be viewed as having been an offender from his first days as a responsible member of the society. What he is now—following the discovery of his deviance—is what, after all, he has been all along.[93] Thus, if a person is surfaced as a homosexual, then not only is he a homosexual now, but also he always was "a little funny, come to think of it." This manner of viewing a deviant is a necessary step in successful status degradation or labeling. Garfinkel's concern was with the ceremony **per se** rather than with its effect on the degraded person. Following is a discussion of the effect and of theories which attempt to account for deviance in the first place.

How a person copes with the stresses of societal living is the subject of the Anomie Theory. Emile Durkheim proffered the theory in the late nineteenth century and it was expanded upon by Robert Merton. The theory of anomie, or normlessness, is offered as an attempt to explain dysfunction in the social order. It is a theory which attempts to account for variations in the rates of deviant behavior. The basic tenets of anomie theory are as follows:[94]

(1) There are aspirations taught to individuals as their cultural goals.

(2) There are norms prescribed by society as institutionalized means which one is to employ in achieving his goals.

(3) There are institutionalized means which are the distribution of facilities and opportunities for achieving the cultural goals in a manner compatible with the norms.

Dysfunction or a breakdown in social order, according to Merton, results when there is a rise in the cultural goals or a contraction of the legitimate means of achieving these goals. This puts a strain on the individual as he must then seek the most accessible, even if illegal, means in order to achieve his goals. As this process continues, there is an increase in social chaos, resulting in anomie. Merton proffers five types of "Individual Adaptation" where he attempts to categorize responses to a social system which places heavy emphasis upon cultural responses at the expense of legitimate means of acquiring these goals. These individual adaptations are: (1) Conformity, (2) Retreatism, (3) Innovation, (4) Ritualism and (5) Rebellion.[95] Speaking to the point germane to the present study, the homosexual is caught up in the eddy of his social surroundings. No legitimate means exist for him in most places to allow his sexual predilections to have vent. Under this strain, he seeks whatever means he can devise to give vent to his homosexuality. Should he be discovered giving expression to these "abnormal" tendencies, he is labeled and may be processed as a deviant. Thus, the nexus between Merton's theory of anomie and labeling theory is apparent.

Edwin M. Lemert has advanced three concepts which are critical to the understanding of deviance and labeling theory. These three concepts are: (1) Primary deviance, (2) Secondary deviance, and (3) Stigmatization. In his book, **Social Pathology**, Lemert configured a difference between primary deviation and secondary deviation. Primary deviation attempts to account for how deviant behavior originates. Secondary deviation concerns how deviant acts are symbolically attached to persons and the effective consequences of such attachment for subsequent deviation. Lemert points out that "primary devia-

tion is assumed to arise in a wide variety of social, cultural, and psychological contexts, and at best has only marginal implications for the psychic structure of the individual; it does not lead to symbolic reorganization at the level of self-regarding attitudes and social roles."[98] However, and this is significant for his concept of stigmatization, Lemert postulates the following in regard to secondary deviation: "Secondary deviation is deviant behavior, or social roles based upon it, which becomes a means of defense, attack, or adaptation to the overt and covert problems created by the societal reaction to primary deviation. In effect, the original 'causes' of the deviation recede and give way to the central importance of the disapproving, degradational, and isolating reactions of society."[97]

Regarding stigmatization, Lemert contended that societal reaction to primary deviance may take several forms, each having varying degrees of significance for the deviant in question. That is to say, society may, at the least, countenance the deviant and as a consequence he adopts a deviant role or life style. Thus, secondary deviance is caused by "... the processes by which societies create moral problems for deviants ..." and punish him for his deviance. Herein lies the importance of stigmatization. To quote Lemert:

> Stigmatization describes a process attaching visible signs of moral inferiority to persons, such as invidious labels, marks brands, or publically disseminated information. However, it defines more than a formal action of a community toward a misbehaving or physically different member. Degradation rituals ... may dramatize the facts of deviance, but their 'success' is guaged less by their manner of enactment than by their prevailing consequences.[99]

As Lemert points out, if nothing much happens as a consequence of the degradation ritual, the memory of the ritual fades in the mind of the deviant and his deviance remains primary. Ergo, "... for stigmatization to establish a total deviant identity it must be disseminated throughout society."[100] When an individual has become stigmatized, when he accepts the label society has assigned him, the chances are that he will begin to associate readily with others who carry a like stigma. He becomes involved in a sub-cultural life and role engulfment. Lemert points out also that a person may become a secondary deviant for two basic reasons: (1) As a reaction to societal reaction to his primary deviance or (2) To escape an intolerable non-deviant situation.[101]

In sum, stigmatization involves the labeling of a deviant by society and the subsequent reactions to the labeled individual by members of that society. This may lead the deviant to secondary deviance and/or sub-cultural affiliation or role engulfment.

Two criminological theorists who view the labelers rather than those being labeled are Richard Quinney and Austin Turk. These two writers have viewed the criminal, crime and society from the point of view of the lawmakers, those who hold the power to define, i.e., the moral entrepeneurs, as Howard S. Becker termed them. The confluence between the concepts of Quinney and Turk and the writers on labeling and deviant behavior is evident. In his work, **The Problem of Crime**, Quinney wrote that "crime is ... a legal category that is assigned to conduct by authorized agents of a politically organized society."[102] Thus, crime is created, as is deviance generally. Although Quinney is quick to state that "... criminal behavior and deviant behavior must be regarded as two separate orders of behavior,"[103] it is clear that the process by which one is labeled criminal and the process by which one is labeled deviant are similar, as are the consequences in many cases. True, a person may be criminal and not deviant, or deviant and not criminal, depending on the laws and mores in being at any one time. However, in either case the person is labeled and reacted to—albeit in varying degrees—according to the label. For as Quinney himself stated: "Only when crime was viewed as relative, in respect to the criminal law and the behavior of the offender, could crime be truly studied sociologically as a social phenomenon."[104] In another of his works, **The Social Reality of Crime**,[105] Quinney states that criminal definitions describe behaviors which conflict with the interests of the segments of society which have the power to shape public opinion. Moreover, he writes that the social reality of crime is constructed by the formulation and application of criminal definitions, the development of behavior patterns related to criminal definitions, and the construction of criminal conceptions.

Turk maintains in his book, **Criminality and Legal Order**, that social order implies conflict.[106] All people in the same society do not hold the same norms and values sacred to the same degree. It follows, then, that those with the power to shape and enforce the law will so construct and construe the law that it will serve the ends of those who hold the power.[107] There are times, however, when those who hold the power to shape the law err, and their ends are not served. The American era of Prohibition serves as an example of this, as do the largely ineffective laws against abortion, homosexuality and drug addiction. In his conclusion, Turk contends that criminality is "... deviant status conferred upon individuals by the actions of legal authorities ... ."[108]

In another of his works, Turk provides an analysis of relationships among four major variables: legalization, sources of impetus for legalization, the normative problems to which legalization is a response, and the impact of that response. Rights, privileges, powers, immunities, etc., are granted or withheld, indeed are defined into existence by authorities of the polity.[109] Legalization is a fundamentally political phenomenon. It is "... the process of translating facets of social life into the language and operations of forms of social control explicitly aimed at

generating empirically prominent authority relationships, backed if necessary by use of an enforcement staff."[110] Laws are the dynamics of power relationships.

Turk points out that the eternal ambiguity of justice makes it inevitable that legalization will also involve the making and enforcing of decisions favoring some values, perceptions, interests, and parties over others; this results in the fact that the parties whose values, perceptions, and interests are more likely to be favored in legalization will be the more powerful participants in a social order.[111] Legalization then is the process by which normative expectations are made official and the ground work is thus laid for official "status degradation ceremonies."

The sources of legalization, according to Turk, are primarily four in number: moral indignation, legalism, response to threat, and political tactics.[112] Moral indignation is clearly the major impetus for legalization of the normative problem of non-violent sexuality, and indeed has provided the conceptualization of the problem.[113] Turk's work dovetails rather neatly with Garfinkel's writing on the necessary requisites for successful "status degradation ceremonies."

Turk draws the conclusion from his research—a conclusion supported and reached by others (Schur, **et al.**)—that legalization of non-violent sexuality is counterproductive at worst, ineffective at best as are attempts to suppress by law most victimless crimes.[114]

Kai T. Erikson maintains that "from a sociological standpoint, deviance can be defined as conduct which is generally thought to require the attention of social control agencies—that is, conduct about which 'something should be done.'"[115] He posits that deviance is not a property inherent in certain forms of behavior, but rather it is a property conferred upon these forms of behavior by the audiences which directly or indirectly witness them. This audience is what eventually determines whether or not any episode of behavior or any class of episodes is labeled deviant.[116]

Erikson also contends that the "social system"—an organization of society's component parts into a form which sustains internal equilibrium, resists change and is boundary maintaining[117]—is important in understanding deviance. As he notes, systems operate to maintain boundaries and that these boundaries are an important point of reference for persons participating in any system. "The only material found in a system for making boundaries, then, is the behavior of its participants; ... transactions taking place between deviant persons on the one side and agencies of control on the other are boundary maintaining mechanisms.[118] It may well be, as Erikson has noted, that without the transactions taking place between deviants and social control agencies, the mainstream of society would have no inner sense of identity and cohesion, and that deviance cannot be dismissed simply as behavior which disrupts stability in society, but may itself be, in controlled quantities, an important condition for preserving stability. Thus, it may be observed "... that deviant activities often seem to derive support from the very agencies designed to suppress them."[119]

In the same vein as Erikson, John I. Kitsuse, in his paper "Societal Reaction to Deviant Behavior: Problems of Theory and Method," proposes to "shift the focus of theory and research from the forms of deviant behavior to the processes by which persons come to be defined as deviant by others."[120] This interaction between the deviant and those who define him as such is key in the concept of labeling theory.

Kitsuse goes on to say that "deviance may be conceived as a process by which the members of a group, community, or society (1) interpret behavior as deviant, (2) define persons who so behave as certain kinds of deviants, and (3) accord them the treatment considered appropriate to such deviants."[121] Thus, whether or not the application of the label "deviant" is accurate, the application of the label is real and such application is very real in its consequences—both to the "deviant" in question and to the "moral entrepreneurs" who do the labeling. This point is made quite clear by Kitsuse when he writes of the imputation of the label "homosexual." In this regard, Kitsuse identifies four interactional contexts of societal reactions which obtain when the label deviant (homosexual) is applied: (1) explicit disapproval and immediate withdrawal; (2) explicit disapproval and subsequent withdrawal; (3) implicit disapproval and partial withdrawal; and (4) no disapproval and relationship sustained.[122]

That those who label have the power to do so is without question; whether or not the label is accepted, or even self-imposed, is quite another issue. Albert J. Reiss, Jr., in his article, "The Social Integration of Queers and Peers,"[123] makes this point explicit. Reiss' study concerned the sexual relationships between "delinquent peers" and "adult queers" and accounted for its social organization. Germane to the point of the present study, the delinquent youths in Reiss' study who engaged in homosexual acts with adult homosexuals did not consider themselves homosexuals. They viewed themselves as engaged in homosexual acts strickly as a moneymaking proposition. They were paid for allowing adult homosexuals to fellate them. When these delinquents desired truly pleasurable sexual activity, they sought same with females. Reminiscent of David Matza's theory of delinquency and drift, these "delinquent peers" drifted out of this activity upon reaching a higher level of maturity. The point to be stressed here is that these youthful hustlers did not consider themselves homosexual and would resort to physical violence to protect their straight masculine image should someone impute the label to them. They rejected the label.

Perhaps one of the most noted definitions of deviant behavior and labeling is the one posited by Howard S. Becker in his book **Outsiders**. He contends that "social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance ..."[124] and that "deviance is not

a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an 'offender.' The deviant is one to whom that label has successfully been applied; deviant behavior is behavior that people so label."[125] Becker listed three steps by which a person becomes deviant: (1) learning the technique; (2) learning to perceive the effects; and (3) learning to enjoy the effects.[126] Although Becker used these three steps concerning his study on becoming a marijuana user, they are generally applicable to establishing deviant careers, or, as Lemert defined it, secondary deviance. In addition, Becker's study uncovered those who do the labeling. He analyzed the role of the rule creators, the fate of moral crusaders, and the rule enforcers.[127] These rule creators and enforcers Becker called the "moral entrepreneurs."

Edwin M. Schur is another prominent writer in the field of deviance and labeling theory. As he stated in his book **Labeling Deviant Behavior,** "... we can no longer ignore the vital role of societal reactions, both formal and informal (including restrictive laws dealing with homosexual behavior), in shaping the self-concepts and actions of such an individual. Many facets of the homosexual's life are significantly influenced by a dominantly heterosexual society's definition of his sexual behavior (and implicitly of him as a person) as immoral, sick, even criminal."[128] Schur defined deviance as follows: "Human behavior is deviant to the extent that it comes to be viewed as involving a personally discreditable departure from a group's normative expectations, and it elicits interpersonal or collective reactions that serve to 'isolate,' 'treat,' 'correct,' or 'punish' individuals engaged in such behavior."[129] He added that self-typing or labeling plays an important role in the lives of some deviants since deviant identities do not always result solely from negative labeling—some people actively seek certain deviant roles and identities.[130]

In the process of labeling deviants, Schur discussed what he has chosen to call "retrospective interpretation." This process is included in what Garfinkel called "successful status degradation" and the concept involved here is one of viewing the deviant in question as a totally deviant personality, rather than as a complex human being with many facets to his make-up—only one of which may be deviant. Thus, to impute the deviance to the entire personality may result in the production of a "spoiled identity"[131] for the labeled individual.

Schur's discussion of "organizational processing,"[132] a term originally used in a work by Kitsuse and Cicourel, also seems to be critical to labeling theory. Such processing is begun by what Kai Erikson has termed the "community screen." This involves selecting from the general population those individuals or groups who are to be processed, labeled, and reacted to according to the affixed label. Of course, the processing occurs under a set of rules (laws, customs, etc.) which are made collectively in the community.

In another of his works, **Crimes Without Victims,** Schur applied his analysis of labeling theory to three specific areas of deviance, **vis.**, abortion, homosexuality, and drug addiction.[133] He concluded in this book that more damage than good is obtained by society's attempt to proscribe acts involving these victimless crimes. It is possible to damage irreparably the lives of those found to be engaged willingly in these activities, and society as a whole is damaged as a result of the loss of respect for law, law enforcers and lawmakers when it becomes apparent that these entities are virtually powerless and most ineffective in their attempts to limit or eradicate the activities in question.

Some germane and interesting studies have been completed dealing with deviants **per se**. Among these is J. L. Simmons' work, **Deviants.** The study contains conclusions listed under various headings. The first of these is that deviance is in the eyes of the beholder.[134] This concept fits well with the tenets of labeling theory discussed above. Another section of Simmons' study recounts that a host of different perspectives in our Western civilization falls into a few broad categories: (1) the deviant is sick; (2) the deviant is a boatrocker; (3) deviance is the gross violation of someone's moral standards; (4) deviance is behavior statistically rare in a group or society; (5) the deviant is a human being.[135] In a lucid incorporation of labeling theory in his study, Simmons' posits the following:

> Deviants do not exist in nature, but are man-made categories. This means that deviance is not an inherent attribute of any behavior but is a social process of labeling. Society is the creative force behind the deviant.[136]

Thus, as Simmons maintains, the public stereotypes deviants and imputes the deviance to all aspects of the individual deviant's personality. The deviants are prejudged and largely helpless to alter their evaluation and treatment by others.[137] This kind of stereotyping and labeling leaves the deviant with little choice other than to become what Lemert termed a secondary deviant or to engage in what Becker called a deviant career. In any case, the known deviant is considered an outsider and must seek his desired human relations with others who share his particular predilection.

Simmons states also that "our point of view shapes our attitude. To a deviant, deviance can be entirely reasonable and rational. From where he sits, with his needs and attitudes, and the situation as he perceives it, what he does is logical."[138] Put another way, as Becker stated, the deviant may well view his judges as outsiders.[139]

With regard to how a person becomes deviant, Simmons contends that

> ...since virtually any behavior is deviant from the moral perspective of some judge, virtually

> everything causes deviance... Going deviant seems to be best understood as a process involving an interplay between a person's ongoing behavior and all the social forces surrounding this behavior. It is not caused by either; rather it emerges from the interrelationships between both.[140]

Negative societal stereotyping, then, does not cause deviance, but may in fact serve to control it.

Concerning how an individual is recruited into deviance (this in concert with Becker's paradigm of learning the technique, learning to perceive the effects, and learning to enjoy the effects),[141] Simmons points out that

> ... when someone successfully completes a deviant act—carried away by an exceedingly attractive opportunity or especially strong desires or intense group pressure—the hold of the negative stereotypes weakens. A person learns by direct experience that deviance is not a strange and twisted world beyond the pale of ordinary men and that those who commit deviant acts are fundamentally just people ... the successful completion of one or a few deviant acts usually greatly reduces the person's doubts and fears ... the illicit opportunities for subsequent safe deviance will usually increase. The person knows where to go and what to do.[142]

Consequently, the most parsimonious reason why a person will accept recruitment into deviance seems to be because he finds it rewarding.

Role engulfment or emersion into secondary deviance occurs after a person has been recruited into deviance and such engulfment curtails a person's freedom to choose between deviance and non-deviance.[143] Matza's theory of delinquency and drift may apply readily while the person is involved in primary deviance or experimentation, but such drift becomes the more difficult as the person becomes involved in role engulfment or secondary deviance.

In a concluding statement in his study, Simmons points out what Schur made explicit in his work: simply that the most telling argument against strict suppression of deviance is that it does not work—it fails to curb most forms of deviance under most conditions.[144]

In their work **Deviancy: The Psychology of Being Different,** Freedman and Doob drew several conclusions from a series of experiments presented in the first portion of their work. Concerning the affiliation preference of deviants, Freedman and Doob concluded that: (1) When their deviance is not publicly known, deviants will attempt to avoid close contact with others. When their deviance is public knowledge, they will not do this; (2) Deviants prefer to associate with other deviants rather than with nondeviants. This may hold even when the other deviants are different than they.[145]

With regard to the aggression tendencies of deviants, the experimenters concluded that: First, given the opportunity to aggress against a previously chosen individual, deviants hurt a deviant who is similar to them less than they do a nondeviant or a different deviant. The most important result of the experiment, however, was that all other groups are similar and in particular the nondeviant does not hurt the deviant more than he does the nondeviant. Secondly, when asked to choose someone to receive an electric shock, there are big differences between deviants and nondeviants. The deviants selected nondeviants more than deviants; whereas, nondeviants had the opposite preference. In contrast, when the choice was for someone to receive a reward, all of this was reversed—with deviants picking other deviants and nondeviants picking other nondeviants.[146] Freedman and Doob interpreted this result as supporting the common assumption that nondeviants tend to mistreat deviants. This finding is confluent with the results of Simmons' study also.

Speaking to the point of social influence on deviants, the experimenters found results of import in three categories: (1) Conformity—In face-to-face situations, with responses public, there was no overall effect of deviancy. Where normative responses are presented on a questionnaire and subjects responded privately, deviants conformed less than did nondeviants. (2) Attitude change—There was no overall effect of deviancy. In addition, the deviancy, or lack of it, of the course of the communication had no effect on its influence. The one clear finding was that deviants were influenced more by communications from peers than by an authority, whereas nondeviants had the opposite preference. (3) Compliance—With direct confrontation deviants complied more than did nondeviants, and the difference was largest when the person making the request was a nondeviant; with no direct confrontation, deviants complied less than with nondeviants.[147]

An additional work of significance in the field of deviant behavior was accomplished by John H. Gagnon and William Simon in their book entitled **Sexual Deviance**. In this book the authors pointed out that "the major criteria of what is deviant are not to be found in the behavior as such, but rather in its definition as norm-violating behavior. There is no form of behavior, sexual or nonsexual, that is intrinsically deviant or nondeviant because of the behavior that it involves."[148] The thinking of Gagnon and Simon on deviance runs an almost convergent course with the thinking of the labeling theorists discussed above—especially Becker. Simon and Gagnon go on to say that "... a form of behavior becomes deviant when it is defined as violating the norms of some collectivity"[149] and that "... deviation, as a social act, must be conceived in terms of social structure, social situation, and the character of specific actors rather than in terms of a fixed and seemingly immutable set (or sets) of moral postures."[150]

With regard to the effect of labeling on a person who commits deviant acts, the authors contend that "... the kind of life led after entering a career of deviance may be more influential in shaping the person's behavior than any of the etiological characteristics that brought him to the point of committing the act or acts in the first place."[151] Concerning sexuality as an area containing deviance, the authors stated that "... sexualtiy is, perhaps more than any other aspect of human behavior, intertwined with moral imperatives, conscious fantasy, and unconscious desires, all of which combine to compromise even the most scientific of observers. Moreover, sexuality has the dubious distinction of being the only biological drive that has been proscribed in nearly all of its physical manifestations."[152]

In the section of their work entitled "Deviance: Laws, Mores, and Behavior," the authors contend that "the actual fact of defining something as deviant is an outcome which usually reflects a complex interaction between institutionalized norms (laws, both in terms of statute and precedent), shared and internalized norms of a populace (mores), and the actual pattern of behavior exhibited by that population."[153] Speaking to the point of sexual deviance **per se**, Simon and Gagnon concluded the following:

> There are also forms of sexual deviance for which the correlation between laws, mores, and behavior is somewhat greater and for which ... the intensity of sanctions invoked both on the level of the mores and on the formal legal level remains high. Such forms of deviance usually involve smaller though still sizable numbers of persons (such as homosexuality) or involve larger numbers of persons, but only episodically (such as clients of prostitutes).[154]

This conclusion of the authors coincides with the works of Becker and Turk. Simon and Gagnon further state that "... these forms of deviance, which are more strongly sanctioned at both the formal and informal level, fail to articulate with legitimate expressions of sexuality and are more likely to be defined as a challenge to conventional morality."[155] The authors go on to say that "... deviance is not something special or bizarre, but subject to the same kinds of explanations as is conforming behavior. (This is reminiscent of Sutherland's differential association theory of criminality.) Deviance exists in social systems as a necessary complement to conformity, for ... to speak of one is to imply the other."[156]

In the following chapters of this study are included a discussion concerning how the study was made, a presentation of data collected as a result of the study, and a summarization of the study. The foregoing review of historical and theoretical literature pertinent to the topic at hand has given rise to certain major questions and hypotheses, both of which are stated below.

BASIC QUESTIONS

The basic questions posed to guide this study were: (1) What effect have the variables being observed had on the directing of a person to a homosexual lifestyle? (2) Just how deviant do the subjects of this study feel in a predominantly heterosexual society? (3) Do these deviants wish they were not deviant, or are they adjusted to their deviance? (4) Do these persons visualize their deviant commitment as irreversible?

HYPOTHESES

The hypotheses generated by the contemplation of this study were as follows:

(1) The majority of the respondents will view themselves as being born homosexual—that they had no control over their eventual manifestation of deviance. This would provide them with a simple, non-refutable rationalization for their deviance.

(2) That more women than men desire long-lasting love relationships in homosexual encounters. This would be in keeping with the popular view within normal society.

(3) That more women than men have had enduring homosexual love relationships. This would also be in keeping with the popular view within normal society.

(4) That more men than women are less well adjusted in their deviance. Lesbians enjoy a lower profile than do male homosexuals, thus more men than women are anxious about maintaining their secret deviance.

(5) That more men than women entered a deviant lifestyle at an earlier age. This would be in keeping with the traditional concept that men are more aggressive sexually than women.

(6) That more women than men in the sample believe in sexual fidelity between gay lovers. This is probably true in straight society. Men also have more access to partners via bars and the like since women in our society—gay or straight—seldom frequent bars on their own.

METHODOLOGY

The thrust of this study was directed toward measuring and describing the self-concept of a sample of American homosexuals. In addition, some demographic data were elicited, and the groups were compared according to such variables as sex and educational background. As a facilitating base for the study, a review of pertinent literature on homosexuality, deviance and labeling theory was given to set the framework for the descriptive discussion to follow. Sources of information for the historical review included primary sources of the period, secondary sources and whatever else was available and deemed useful. The data obtained from the questionnaires were transposed to tables depicting simple relationships between dependent, independent, and intervening variables. The design was constructed to show statistical comparison between male and female respondents. The comparisons were made by indicating the number and percentages of responses to particular questions. Since the study was intended to be descriptive in nature, the analytical tool employed was a statistical comparison of male and female respondents, using chi square to ascertain significance at the .05 level. The statistical results obtained from the questionnaires were then compared to the results obtained from the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale (TSCS), where possible, in order to lend validity and reliability to the questionnaire data by comparing it to an already standardized instrument.

THE SAMPLE

The sample consisted of subjects who were accessible to this researcher through two primary female contacts in the homosexual community. Thus, the sample was incidental rather than random, but it has been justified on the basis that access to deviants whose exposure would be inimical to themselves must be gained without probability of such exposure. A total of 100 questionnaires and TSCS packets were distributed by the contacts—50 to males and 50 to females. The TSCS answer sheets and the questionnaires were numbered 1 through 100, with odd numbered packets going to males and even numbered packets going to females. Also, the respondent's sex was elicited on both the questionnaire and the TSCS answer sheet. Since names of respondents were not asked for obvious reasons, this numbering system and sex elicitation allowed this researcher a double check system to ensure that he could delineate male from female respondents for comparison purposes.

Of a total of 100 packets distributed, 53 were returned to the researcher, 26 males and 27 females, for a return rate of 53 per cent.

VARIABLES

There were two dependent variables to be observed in this study. One was the self-concept of the subjects as measured by the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale and some questions in the questionnaire. The other was involvement in the homosexual lifestyle as measured by the results of the TSCS and other questions in the questionnaire. Copies of the questionnaire and the TSCS are located at Appendices A and B.

The independent variables affecting the self-concept of the subjects for the purpose of measuring that self-concept were contained in the score sheet of the TSCS. The publishers of the TSCS provide a computer analysis of the results of the test. Explicitly these variables, as noted in Chapter I, are identity, self-satisfaction, behavior, physical self, moral-ethical self, personal self, family self and social self. Each of these portions of the self are viewed via the test, and the composite score yields the total self-concept. The section below dealing with the instruments used in this study provides a further exposition of these variables.

The intervening variables thought to affect commitment to or involvement in the homosexual lifestyle, which were observed in this study, were familial relationships, extracurricular school activities, and religious affiliation and activity. These variables were observed with a view toward discovering whether or not they are related significantly to the development of a homosexual lifestyle.

INSTRUMENTS

There were two instruments used in the completion of this study. One was the TSCS, and the other was a questionnaire devised by this researcher, the contents of which were the result of his review of the literature regarding deviance and homosexuality.

The TSCS has been reviewed critically in Burro's **Mental Measurement Yearbook**, Volume I, 1-544 (1972) by Peter M. Bentler, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Psychology, University of California, Los Angeles; and by Richard M. Suinn Ph.D., Professor of Psychology and Associate Head of the Department, Colorado State University, Fort Collins, Colorado.

Professor Bentler states that the TSCS consists of 100 self-description items, of which 90 assess the self-concept and 10 assess self-criticism (the self-criticism items are all MMPI Lie Scale items). Fourteen scores are derived from these items inthe Clinical and Research Form (the form used in the present study), and this version is considered appropriate for research and clinical assessment; 30 scores are derived and reported in the profile sheet.

Bentler also adds that items for the scale were written according to a type of two-dimensional design involving the following aspects of self: Identity, Self-Satisfaction, Behavior, Physical Self, Moral-Ethical Self, Personal Self, Family Self, and Social Self. Each of these aspects of the self receives a subscore based on relevant items.

Further, major scores are derived: (1) Total Positive Score, reflecting the overall level of self-esteem; (2) Variability Scores, reflecting the amount of consistency from one area of self-perception to another; and (3) Distribution Score, a measure of extremity response style. The Clinical and Research Form also yields scores for True-False Ratio, a measure of response style; Net Conflict Score, reflecting responses to positive versus negative items; Empirical Scales for group discrimination of various sorts; and Number of Deviant Signs Scores, a count of the number of deviant features on all other scores. The various content areas are well conceived, and the scale yields a vast amount of information from only 100 test items.

Bentler further maintains that several scores from the scale have remarkably high correlations with other measures of personality functioning. For example, the Taylor Anxiety Scale correlates -.70 with Total Positive. Correlations from .50 to .70 are common with the Cornelll Medical Index, thus establishing concurrent validity. Correlations with various MMPI scales are frequently in the .50's and .60's, establishing concurrent reliability also. Thus, it seems safe to conclude that the scale overlaps sufficiently with well-known measures to consider it a possible alternative for these measures in various applied situations. Norms for the TSCS were based upon a sample of 626 persons of varying age, sex, race, and socio-economic status. The sample does not reflect the distribution of these variables in the population, but it will suffice for many practical purposes. Retest reliability, while varying for different scores, is in the high .80's, sufficiently large to warrant confidence in individual difference measurement. Thus, many psychometric qualities of the TSCS meet the usual test for construction standards that should exist in an instrument that hopes to receive wide usage.

Professor Suinn adds that the items in the original pool were derived from surveys of the literature on the self-concept and from analyses of patient self-reports. The final items were selected by seven clinical psychologists who were asked to classify each item as to its fit with defined constructs. The final items included only those on which the judges showed perfect agreement, thus establishing inter-rater validity by measuring the self-concept of deviants. The Empirical Scales of the TSCS were derived by including items which empirically differentiated subjects of one group from another, a procedure identical to that used in the development of the MMPI scales. There is little doubt that the strongest aspect of the TSCS current scoring materials is the Empirical Scales, items which were found on initial standardization to discriminate among the following groups: normals, psychotics, neurotics, personality disorders, defensive positive subjects, and personality integration subjects. The Empirical Scales provide a useful screening system. In addition, the test-retest reliabilities are quite substantial. The TSCS relates to the present study by measuring the deviance of the respondents and the level of such deviants from their point of view.

The TSCS was used with favorable results by Reuben M. Baron, Alan R. Bass, and Peter M. Vietze of Wayne State University.[157] The TSCS was used in conjunction with a questionnaire constructed by the experimenters. It efficasiously measured the effects of type and frequency of praise on self-image in a pre-post test design. It is felt by this researcher, based upon review of critical analyses made of the TSCS, that the TSCS will effectively measure the results of negative societal labeling just as effectively since the test was designed to measure the self-concept of deviants as well as that of nondeviants.

With regard to the questionnaire developed by this researcher, in those areas which bear on the self-concept of the respondent, the questionnaire contains items which are also measured by the TSCS and which are similar in content. This similarity lends itself to a logical comparison between like items on the TSCS and the questionnaire. That portion of the questionnaire which yielded demographic data provided a basis for comparison of the respondents among themselves. Moreover, that portion of the questionnaire having to do with variables which could lead to commitment to the homosexual lifestyle have been gleaned from the literature.

PROCEDURE USED TO ACQUIRE DATA

Through the two primary contacts known to this researcher, and through other contacts known only to the primary contacts, each respondent was provided a copy of the TSCS, a packet containing the answer sheet, score sheet and profile sheet, a copy of the questionnaire, and a stamped, self-addressed envelope for the return of the TSCS packet and the questionnaire to the researcher. Because of the sensitive nature of the topic in this study, i.e., homosexuality, the respondents were assigned a code number in place of their names so that the researcher could identify the questionnaire returns and the TSCS packets as belonging to the same individual. Thus, it was assured that comparisons could be made between results on the TSCS and results yielded by the questionnaire, as well as to ensure that the researcher could distinguish between male and female respondents. Odd numbered questionnaires and packets were distributed to male respondents and even numbered ones to female respondents.

PROCEDURE USED TO ANALYZE DATA

The procedure used to analyze the data obtained from the TSCS and the questionnaire was the employment of two tools: logic and statistics, including chi square where possible. Statistics were computed by use of an electronic calculator and a digital computer, and then compared logically to determine relative significance germane to study. Conclusions were drawn logically from the com-

parisons. The similarity between test items on the TSCS and some questions on the questionnaire lends itself to a logical comparison between like items.

BASIC QUESTIONS

The basic questions posed to guide this study were: (1) What effect have the variables being observed had on the directing of a person to a homosexual lifestyle? (2) Just how deviant do the subjects of this study feel in a predominantly heterosexual society? (3) Do these deviants wish that they were not deviant, or are they adjusted to their deviance? (Do these persons visualize their deviant commitment as irreversible?

HYPOTHESES

The hypotheses generated by the contemplation of this study were as follows:

(1) The majority of the respondents will view themselves as being born homosexuals—that they had no control over their eventual manifestation of deviance. This would provide them with a simple, nonrefutable rationalization for their deviance.

(2) That more women than men desire long-lasting love relationships in homosexual encounters. This would be in keeping with what seems to be the popular view within normal society.

(3) That more women than men have had enduring homosexual love relationships. This would also be in keeping with the popular view within normal society.

(4) That more men than women are less well adjusted in their deviance. Lesbians enjoy a lower profile than do male homosexuals, thus more men than women are anxious about maintaining their secret deviance.

(5) That more men than women entered a deviant lifestyle at an earlier age. This would be in keeping with the traditional concept that men are more aggressive sexually than women.

(6) That more women than men in the sample believe in sexual fidelity between gay lovers. This is probably true in straight society. Men also have more access to partners via bars and the like since women in our society—gay or straight—seldom frequent bars on their own.

The remaining two chapters of this study are concerned with data analysis and summarization, respectively.

DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

As mentioned above, the questionnaire used in this study consisted of 67 items. Some of the items allowed for multiple responses and, for the most part, the items were divisible into two categories: personalia or demographic data and respondents' views regarding their own deviance. Following is a discussion of the responses to the items on the questionnaire. For reference purposes and for the convenience of the reader, a copy of the questionnaire is located at Appendix A. There were 53 total respondents in the sample: 26 males and 27 females. The ages of the respondents averaged 29 years for the males, and ranged from 21 to 47 years; for the females the average age was 31 with a range from 20 to 46 years. Occupationally the spread may be considered to be what might be found in the general population. Occupations ran from none to a writer with a Ph. D. (See Appendix D for a list of respondents' occupations by sex and age.)

Concerning financial status of the respondents, questions were asked regarding the financial status of the home in which the respondent was raised (parents or guardian) and the present financial status of the respondents themselves, providing they did not still reside with parents or guardian. Of the male respondents, 3 placed their home of upbringing in the lower class, 21 in the middle class and 2 in the upper class. Regarding their own financial status, these males placed their own financial status as follows: 3 in the lower class, 20 in the middle class, 1 in the upper class. Two of the male respondents still reside with their parents. The female statistics did not differ substantially from those of the males. Concerning their home of upbringing, 4 females placed the home in the lower class, 20 in the middle class and 3 in the upper class. Their own financial status reduced to 1 in the lower class, 21 in the middle class and 1 in the upper class with 4 respondents still living with parents. Thus it is evident that, for purposes of past and present financial status, the sample is heavily weighted in the middle class.

Speaking with a view toward the families of the respondents, both males and females averaged three siblings per family. This figure was compared to another question which elicited whether or not any other members of the respondents' families were homosexual. The results indicated that no parents of respondents were gay, but that five male and five female respondents had gay brothers or sisters. Since no control group of straight or heterosexual respondents was used in this study, a conclusion is not possible from these figures; however, they represent interesting statistics and could well generate questions to guide a new study.

In the initial stages of this study it was thought that parental attitude towards the respondents' dating patterns could be useful in analysis of the respondents' backgrounds. Therefore information to that effect was elicited. The male respondents indicated that parentally 4 were strict about their dating, 13 were lenient, 17 encouraged their dating and 1 discouraged it. The females reported that 11 sets of parents were strict, 12 lenient, 9 encouraged their dating and one discouraged it. These statistics point up that, as might be expected in the general population, the parents of females are more strict concerning the dating habits of their daughters than are the parents of the males. Also, the parents of the males in the sample encouraged the dating of their sons at a rate double that of the parents of the female respondents.

In a continuation on the theme of adolescent dating patterns of the respondents, 38 per cent of the male respondents indicated that they felt left out of the dating pattern for some reason, while 62 per cent indicated that they did not feel left out. The females approximated the male response in that 37 per cent felt left out and 63 per cent did not. (See Table 1.) Therefore, it may be said of this sample that most of the respondents did not feel left out of the adolescent dating pattern, but a substantial number did feel left out. As to whether or not the respondents felt as though they had experienced a normal dating pattern (Table 1), 50 per cent of the males felt that they did not. The females seemed to fare better regarding this variable. Seventy-four per cent indicated that they experienced a normal dating pattern, while 26 per cent felt that they did not. The chi square which was run on Table 1 indicated that the distribution of the responses does not differ significantly at the .05 level from what might be expected by chance distribution.

TABLE 1

Adolescent Dating Pattern of Respondents by Sex

Sex	Dating Pattern											
	Feel Left Out						Experienced Normal Dating Pattern					
	Yes		No		Sub Total		Yes		No		Sub Total	
	n.	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Male	10	38	16	62	26	100	13	50	13	50	26	100
Female	10	37	17	63	27	100	20	74	7	26	27	100
Totals	20	38	33	62	53	100	33	62	20	38	53	100
	P > .05 1 df						P > .05 1 df					

The next series of data discussed in the study concerned the attained educational levels of the respondents. A graphic display of these data is contained in Table 2. For the males in the sample, 7 of 26 (27 per cent) were high school graduates; 15 of 26 (58 per cent) were college graduates, including 1 Ph.D.; 3 of 26 (11 per cent) had some college education; and 1 of 26 (4 per cent) had no high school diploma. By and large, the females were less educated than the males. For the women in the sample 10

TABLE 2

Education Levels by Sex

Sex	Education Levels									
	High School Graduate		College Graduate		Some College		No High School Diploma		Sub Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Male	7	27	15	58	3	11	1	4	26	100
Female	10	37	6	22	7	26	4	15	27	100
Totals	17	32	21	40	10	19	5	19	53	100

P >.05 3 df

of 27 (37 per cent) were high school graduates; 6 of 27 (22 per cent) were college graduates; 7 of 27 (26 per cent) had some college; and 4 of 27 (15 per cent) had no high school diploma. By chi square these figures do not approach significance at the .05 level.

Table 3 represents a design constructed to show the relationship between the religious preference of the respondents by sexual category and their early and present religious affiliation and activity. The religious preferences of the respondents used in this study were Roman Catholic, Protestant, Jewish and No Preference. The affiliation and activities of the respondents measured in the study were early religious activity (the family religion), whether or not the respondents still subscribe to that religion, and whether or not they attend religious services

TABLE 3

Early and Current Religious Affiliation/Activity by Sex

Religious Preference by Sex	Affiliation/Activity															
	Early Religious Activity						Still Subscribe						Attend Religious Services on Regular Basis			
	Strong		Weak		Sub Total		Yes		No		Sub Total		Yes		No		Sub Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Male:																		
Roman Catholic	7	78	2	22	9	100	3	33	6	67	9	100	0	0	9	100	9	100
Protestant	5	83	1	17	6	100	5	83	1	17	6	100	2	33	4	67	6	100
Jewish	2	100	0	0	2	100	2	100	0	0	2	100	0	0	2	100	2	100
No Preference	4	44	5	56	9	100	0	0	9	100	9	100	0	0	9	100	9	100
Column Sub Total	18	69	8	31	26	100	10	38	16	62	26	100	2	8	24	92	26	100
Female:																		
Roman Catholic	8	67	4	33	12	100	6	50	6	50	10	100	1	8	11	92	12	100
Protestant	3	30	7	70	10	100	7	50	3	30	12	100	4	40	6	60	10	100
Jewish	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
No Preference	4	80	1	20	5	100	0	0	5	100	5	100	0	0	5	100	5	100
Column Sub Total	15	56	12	44	27	100	13	48	14	52	27	100	5	19	22	81	27	100
Totals	33	62	20	38	53	100	23	43	30	57	53	100	7	13	46	87	53	100

Note: Chi square not practical due to small numbers in the distributions.

on a regular basis. With regard to the males and their early religious activity, 9 of them were Roman Catholic and they indicated that 7 of them were raised strongly in the family religion, while 2 were not. Of the Protestants in the sample, 5 said that they were raised strongly in the family religion and 1 indicated that he was not. Of the 2 Jewish men in the sample, both indicated that they were strongly raised in the family religion. Of the 9 men who indicated No Preference, 4 maintained that they were brought up strongly in the family religion and 5 said that they were not. In capsule form, then, 18 of the 26 men in the sample (69 per cent) said that they were raised strongly in the family religion, while 8 of the 26 (31 per cent) indicated that they were not. Concerning the females in relation to this variable, 8 of the Roman Catholic women were raised strongly in the family faith, while 4 were not. Of the 10 Protestant women in the sample, 3 maintained that they were raised strongly in the family religion and 7 said they were not so raised. There were no Jewish women in the sample. Of the 5 women who placed themselves in the No Preference category, 4 said that they were reared strongly in the family faith and 1 indicated that she was not. In sum, 15 of the 27 women in the sample (56 per cent) stated that they were raised strongly in the family faith, while 12 of the 27 (44 per cent) said that they were not so reared.

As to whether or not the respondents still subscribe to the family religion, the Roman Catholic males in the sample indicated that 3 of them do, while 6 of them do not. The Protestants indicated that 5 do and 1 does not. Both Jewish men stated that they do still subscribe to the family religion. Of the 9 males who claimed No Preference, all maintained that they no longer subscribe to the family faith. Thus, 10 of the 26 men in the sample (38 per cent) still subscribe to the family religion, while 16 of the 26 (62 per cent) do not. Of the 12 Roman Catholic women in the sample, 6 still subscribe to the family faith, while 6 do not. Seven of the Protestant women still subscribe and 3 do not. There were no Jewish women in the sample. In the No Preference category all 5 women in the sample indicated that they no longer subscribe to the family faith. In summation of the female responses to this variable, 13 of 27 women (48 per cent) still subscribe to the family religion, while 14 of the 27 (52 per cent) no longer subscribe.

With a view as to whether or not the male respondents currently attend religious services on a regular basis, all 9 of the Roman Catholic males indicated that they do not. Of the 6 Protestants, 2 do attend on a regular basis and 4 do not. Neither of the 2 Jewish men in the sample currently attend services on a regular basis. Of the 9 men in the No Preference category, none attend on a regular basis. Thus, of the 26 men in the sample, 2 (8 per cent) currently attend religious services on a regular basis, while 24 (92 per cent) do not. Regarding the female respondents, 1 of the 12 Roman Catholic women currently attends religious services and 11 do not. Four of the Protestant women do, while 6 do not. Once again, there were no Jewish women in the sample. In the No Preference category, all 5 women respondents do not attend on a regular basis. For the total number of women in the sample, then, 5 of the 27 (19 per cent) currently attend religious services on a regular basis, while 22 of the 27 (81 per cent) do not.

Another set of statistics used in an attempt to describe the sample in this study concerned the respondents' participation in high school extracurricular activities. These figures are displayed in Table 4. Of the male respondents, 4 participated in no activities, 13 participated in drama, 5 in band activities, 11 in sports, 5 in school paper activities, and 9 participated in other activities not specifically listed in the questionnaire. The relationship between the observed and expected frequency distribution demonstrated by the chi square run on Table 4 is of interest. The observed frequency for men participating in drama was

TABLE 4

High School Extracurricular Activity by Sex

Sex	Extracurricular Activity											
	None		Drama		Band		Sports		School Paper		Other	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Male	4	15	13	50	5	19	11	42	5	19	9	35
Female	5	19	6	22	6	22	17	63	3	11	8	30

Note: Some respondents participated in more than one type of activity. Therefore, sub-totals and totals were not practical to calculate.

$P < .05$ 4 df

13, whereas the expected frequency was 8.4. This is in keeping with much that has been written concerning homosexual men: early on they develop an interest in drama and the arts. In the sports category the observed frequency was 11 and the expected frequency was 7.4, thus indicating that more of these homosexual men than might be expected participated in sports. This might be explained by the notion that these men, even in high school, were caught in a type of "double bind" wherein their socialization told them that any homosexual feelings they may be experiencing were taboo. These men may also have felt that these homosexual feelings threatened their sense of manhood or maleness; **ergo**, these men participated in high school sports in an effort to substantiate in their own minds their manhood. This deduction is given some credibility in light of the comments made in one of the questionnaires returned to this researcher by one of the male respondents. His comments follow:

> I, in the past, have been outwardly successful and partially successful inwardly as a heterosexual. I've dated many beautiful girls, had affairs with many, lived with several, and been engaged 6 times. I played football in high school and for the Marines, boxed in the Marines, played semi-pro baseball, fought in Vietnam, and earned a gold belt in karate. Seems like the man's man. Only it was all a front, a self denial of my true self, my true desires . . . The Marines and my athletic endeavors were only to prove to myself and others my masculinity. I would have rather been swishing along a deserted beach with wind-blown hair. When I was making love to a beautiful girl, I became excited only as I fanticised (sic) myself on the bottom as a woman being violently laid . . . While I'm attracted to men and want a relationship with a guy, I still find I'm attracted to girls, probably conditioning from a life forced in that direction. But I can be sexually aroused by a girl. So I guess I'm bi-sexual.

This man's comments indicate a small bit of the anguish suffered by many budding homosexuals who are torn between "coming out" into the gay world or staying straight and denying some very deep-seated urges and desires.

The frequency distribution in Table 4 further points up that not as many men as might be expected participated in school paper activities. The observed frequency was 5 while the expected frequency indicated 10.3. It is not clear why the disparity in these frequency distributions occurred.

Of the women in the sample, 5 indicated that they participated in no extracurricular activities, but the expected frequency was 9.6. The cause for the disparity, once again, is not known. Six of the women participated in drama activities and 6 took part in band activities. A noteworthy disparity is seen in the sports category for women. The observed frequency in this category was 17, while the expected frequency was 11.7. This would seem to be in keeping with the popular view that women with Lesbian tendencies in high school are interested in sports, but it does not explain the phenomenon. It is interesting to note, however, that both males and females in the sample are over-represented in the sports participation category. In the remaining two categories there were no noteworthy disparities in frequency distribution. Three women participated in school paper activities and 8 were engaged in the "other" category—activities not specifically listed in the questionnaire.

The following set of statistics was intended to describe the heterosexual exposure, activity and satisfaction of the respondents. The data yielded that only 3 of the male respondents had been married, and only 7 of the female respondents had been married. Eight of the male respondents and 10 of the female had been engaged. One of each had had children by their marriages. Three men and 7 women were divorced; the remaining elements in the sample were single. Table 5 represents statistics which show the heterosexual activity and satisfaction of the respondents. Chi square run on Table 5 yielded no significance at the .05 level. As to whether the respondents had ever had heterosexual intercourse, 10 of the 26 males (38 per cent) indicated that they had, while 16 of 26 (62 per cent) said that they had not. The same figures and percentages apply to the men having achieved orgasm by petting. Eight men out of 26 (32 per cent) indicated that they were sexually satisfied with their heterosexual encounters, while 18 (68 per cent) said that they were not satisfied. Eleven of the 26 were emotionally satisfied (felt that they were in love), but 15 (58 per cent) were not emotionally satisfied in heterosexual relationships.

TABLE 5

Type of Heterosexual Experience and Type of Satisfaction of Respondents by Sex

Sex	Experience and Satisfaction											
	Intercourse			Orgasm by Petting			Sexual Satisfaction			Emotional Satisfaction		
	Yes	No	Sub Total	Yes	No	Sub Total	Yes	No	Sub Total	Yes	No	Sub Total
	n %	n %	n %	n %	n %	n %	n %	n %	n %	n %	n %	n %
Male	10 38	16 62	26 100	10 38	16 62	26 100	8 32	18 68	26 100	11 42	15 58	26 100
Female	17 63	10 37	27 100	16 59	11 41	27 100	15 56	12 44	27 100	18 67	9 33	27 100
Totals	27 51	26 49	53 100	26 49	27 51	53 100	23 43	30 57	53 100	29 55	24 45	53 100
	$P > .05$ 1 df			$P > .05$ 1 df			$P > .05$ 1 df			$P > .05$ 1 df		

With regard to the women in the sample, 17 of 27 (63 per cent) indicated that they had experienced heterosexual intercourse, while 10 (37 per cent) said that they had not. Of the 27 women in the sample, 16 (59 per cent) maintained that they had achieved orgasm by petting, but 11 (41 per cent) had not. As to whether or not sexual satisfaction was achieved, 15 women (58 per cent) said that they were sexually satisfied and 12 (44 per cent) said that they felt unsatisfied. Eighteen of the women (67 per cent) claimed emotional satisfaction and 9 (33 per cent) did not feel emotionally satisfied. When compared to the statistics for the men regarding emotional satisfaction, it is interesting to note that substantially more women than men were emotionally satisfied in heterosexual encounters, while a substantially higher number of men than women were unsatisfied. This is consistent with the popular view that women have to feel more involved emotionally than men do in order to have a satisfactory sexual encounter.

The following discussion is centered around the respondents' deviance as they perceive it both in relationship to themselves and to others. In addition, some statistics are presented which, it is hoped, have shed some light on the respondents' homosexuality in view of certain variables thought to have an impact upon their lives.

It was asked of the respondents whether they ever felt "put down" in group encounters where it was necessary to undress before their own sex. By the nature of the questions asked in the questionnaire, the feeling of being "put down" would be evoked by penis size for males and breast size for females. Twelve of the 26 male respondents (46 per cent) reported that indeed they did feel "put down" in naked group encounters within their own sex because of the size of their penises. Eight of the 27 women in the sample (30 per cent) felt so "put down" because of their breast size. Since no control group of heterosexual respondents was used, it is difficult to impute any relationship between these statistics and the development of homosexual leanings. However, the possibility exists that the respondents felt inferior before their sexual peers and this may have served as an impetus to an already budding deviant tendency. Inadequacy in the heterosexual realm, in other words, may have been an impelling force in the development of their homosexuality.

With regard to age of the respondents at which they experienced their first homosexual encounter, 21 of the 26 males (81 per cent) had such encounters before 20 years of age. Five (19 per cent) experienced such encounters between the ages of 20 and 29 years. None of the males in the sample had their first homosexual experience after age 30. (See Table 6.) The females reported that 13 of the 27 in the sample (48 per cent) had their first homosexual experience prior to 20 years of age; 13 (48 per cent) between 20 and 29 years of age; and 1 woman (4 per cent) had her first experience after age 30. The average time interval between the first and subsequent homosexual encounters reveals figures of interest. The average time interval between initial and subsequent experiences for men was 11 months with a spread of from 0 to 120 months. The average time interval for women was 27 months with a spread of from 0 to 144 months. These statistics may be in keeping with the general sexual socialization in our society in that men are more sexually aggressive and therefore more active than are women. Of course, the high incidence of early homosexual activity both in men and women in the sample may be ascribed to "normal" adolescent sexual experimentation; however, the men and women in this sample are in fact homosexual. Thus it is of interest to find, if possible, a nexus between and among variables for this sample. For a more detailed view of this nexus, the reader is invited to peruse Table 6.

TABLE 6

Relationship Between Age at First Homosexual Experience and Perceived Homosexuality by Sex

Age at First Homosexual Experience by Sex	Age and Perceived Homosexuality									
	Age at Which Self-Perceived as Exclusively Gay						Not Exclusively Gay		Row Sub Totals	
	0-19		20-29		30+					
Male:	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
0-19	8	42	8	42	0	0	3	14	19	100
20-29	4	67	0	0	0	0	2	33	6	100
30+	0	0	0	0	1	100	0	0	1	100
Column Sub Totals	12	46	8	31	1	4	5	19	26	100
Female:										
0-19	6	54	4	31	0	0	2	15	13	100
20-29	0	0	12	85	0	0	2	15	13	100
30+	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	100	1	100
Column Sub Totals	6	22	16	59	0	0	5	19	27	100
Row Total									53	100

Note: Chi square not practical due to small numbers in the distributions.

in the sample (48 per cent) had their first homosexual experience prior to 20 years of age; 13 (48 per cent) between 20 and 29 years of age;

Concerning at what age the respondents perceived themselves as exclusively gay or whether in fact they do perceive themselves as exclusively gay, the views of the respondents are interesting. Of the 26 men in the sample, 16 (61 per cent) viewed themselves as exclusively gay prior to 20 years of age; 7 (27 per cent) between 20 and 29 years of age; none perceived themselves as becoming exclusively gay over age 30; and 3 (12 per cent) do not view themselves as exclusively gay. Of the 27 women in the sample, 7 (26 per cent) viewed themselves as exclusively gay prior to 20 years of age; 15 (56 per cent) between 20 and 29 years; none after thirty; and 5 (18 per cent) did not view themselves as exclusively gay. These data are displayed graphically in Table 6. Chi square was not a practical possibility for this table because of the small numbers of responses in several of the categories.

For a view of the relationship between religious preference of the respondents and the variables discussed above concerning age and homosexual experience, see Table 7.

TABLE 7

Religion in Relationship to Homosexual Development by Sex

Religious Preference by Sex	Homosexual Development															
	Age at First Homosexual Experience							Age Perceived as Exclusively Gay								
	0-19		20-29		30+		Sub Total		0-19		20-29		30+		Not Ex. Gay		Sub Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Male:																		
Roman Catholic	7	78	2	22	0	0	9	100	7	78	1	11	0	0	1	11	9	100
Protestant	5	83	1	17	0	0	6	100	1	17	3	50	1	17	1	17	6	100 (101)
Jewish	2	100	0	0	0	0	2	100	1	50	1	50	0	0	0	0	2	100
No Preference	7	78	2	22	0	0	9	100	3	33	3	33	0	0	3	33	9	100 (99)
Column Sub Total	21	81	5	19	0	0	26	100	12	46	8	31	1	4	5	19	26	100
Female:																		
Roman Catholic	7	58	4	33	1	9	12	100	3	25	6	50	0	0	3	25	12	100
Protestant	6	60	4	40	0	0	10	100	3	30	6	60	0	0	1	10	10	100
Jewish	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
No Preference	0	0	5	100	0	0	5	100	0	0	4	80	0	0	1	20	5	100
Column Sub Total	13	48	13	48	1	4	27	100	6	22	16	59	0	0	5	19	27	100
Totals	34	64	18	34	1	2	53	100	18	34	24	45	1	2	10	19	53	100

Note: Chi square not practical due to small numbers in the distributions.

It was not practical to run chi square on this table either for the same reason as for Table 6. At any rate, it would seem logical to conclude on the basis of the data that the religious preference of the elements in the sample has no meaningful bearing on the homosexual development of the respondents.

Another variable related to the preceding discussion is the perceived depth of deviance of the respondents, i.e., whether the respondents see themselves as exclusively gay, bi-sexual or predominantly homosexual. Of the 26 men in the sample, 14 (54 per cent) see themselves as exclusively gay; 4 (15 per cent) see themselves as bisexual; and 8 (31 per cent) see themselves as predominantly homosexual. For the women, 11 of 27 (41 per cent) see themselves as exclusively gay; 4 (15 per cent) as bisexual; and 12 (44 per cent) view themslves as predominantly homosexual. To see how the above statistics relate to age at first homosexual experience, see Table 8. A meaningful

TABLE 8

Age at First Homosexual Experience by Sex and Perceived Depth of Deviance

Perceived Depth of Deviance by Sex	Age at First Homosexual Experience							
	0-19		20-29		30+		Row Sub Total	
Male:	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Exclusively Gay	13	50	1	4	0	0	14	54
Bisexual	3	11	1	4	0	0	4	15
Predominantly Homosexual	5	20	3	11	0	0	8	31
Column Sub Totals	21	81	5	19	0	0	26	100
Female:								
Exclusively Gay	8	30	3	11	0	0	11	41
Bisexual	2	7	1	4	1	4	4	15
Predominantly Homosexual	3	11	9	33	0	0	12	44
Column Sub Totals	13	48	13	48	1	4	27	100
Totals	34	64	18	34	1	2	53	100

Note: Chi square not practical for this table due to small numbers in the distribution.

chi square could not be run on Table 8 due to the small numbers in the distributions. There are 3 categories in the table which do stand out, however. For those respondents who view themselves as exclusively gay, this decision was made by most of them prior to their twentieth birthday. Thirteen of the males (50 per cent) saw themselves as exclusively gay prior to their twentieth birthday, while 8 of the females (30 per cent) did so. It would seem, then, that the males were quicker to make this decision earlier in their lives than were the females. In the bisexual category, 3 of the 4 bisexual men (11 per cent of the men in the sample) viewed themselves as being bisexual prior to their twentieth birthday. Two of the 4 bisexual women (7 per cent of the 27 women in the sample) so view themselves. Five of the 8 predominantly homosexual men (20 per cent of the total male sample) saw themselves in this category prior to their twentieth birthday, while 9 of the 12 women (33 per cent) viewed themselves as predominantly homosexual between ages 20 and 29. In the predominantly homosexual category, then, the women took longer to so view their sexual identity than did the men. This seems consistent with the popular view of men being more sexually aggressive and assertive than women in our society.

At this point in the discussion it is intended to bring to the reader's attention the views of the respondents as to the origin of their own deviance. Table 9 displays graphically the relationship between the self-perceived depth of deviance of the respondents and the origin of the respondents' homosexuality. Twelve of the 14 men who view themselves as exclusively gay maintained that they were born gay. Two of the 14 said that their exclusive gayness was the result of a conscious psychological choice on their parts. The 4 male bisexuals in the sample reduced to 2 in each category: 2 said that they were born gay and 2 claimed it was psychological choice. In the predominantly homosexual category, 7 of the 8 men in this group maintained that they were born gay and 1 said that it was psychological choice on his part. Thus 21 of the 26 males in the sample (81 per cent) felt that they were born gay, while 5 (19 per cent) felt that their homosexuality was due to conscious psychological choice on their parts. Speaking with regard to the women, 7 of the 11 who claimed exclusive gayness felt that they were born that way; while 4 said it was psychological choice. Of the 4 bisexual women in the sample, 1 felt that she was born gay and 3 said that it was psychological choice. The 12 women in the predominantly homosexual category split into 2 groups of 4 and 8. Four felt that they were born gay, while 8 maintained that their gayness resulted from psychological choice. For the women, then, 12 of the 27 in the sample (44 per cent) felt that they were born gay, while 15 (5[illegible] per cent claimed that their homosexuality was a result of conscious psychological choice on their parts. Regarding Table 9 and the chi squares run on the response distribution, some interesting thoughts are evoked. Significance was approached in this table. The observed frequence of

TABLE 9

Respondents' Views Regarding Own Homosexuality by Sex and Depth of Deviance

Perceived Depth of Deviance by Sex	Origin of Respondents' Gayness					
	Born Gay		Homosexuality a Result of Psychological Choice		Row Sub Totals	
Male:	n	%	n	%	n	%
Exclusively Gay	12	86	2	14	14	100
Bisexual	2	50	2	50	4	100
Predominantly Homosexual	7	86	1	14	8	100
Column Sub Totals	21	81	5	19	26	100
Females:						
Exclusively Gay	7	64	4	36	11	100
Bisexual	1	25	3	75	4	100
Predominantly Homosexual	4	33	8	67	12	100
Column Sub Totals	12	44	15	56	27	100
Totals	33	62	20	38	53	100

$P < .05$ 5 df $P > .05$ 5 df

12 responses by the exclusively gay men who felt they were born gay has an expected frequency of 5.5. The observed frequency of 2 responses by the bisexual men has an expected frequency of 5.5 also. In addition, the observed frequency of 1 response by the bisexual woman who thought that she was born gay has an expected frequency of 5.5. Thus it can be seen that there is a significant relationship between how the men particularly viewed their depth of deviance and what the origin of that deviance was.

Another factor which was examined in connection with the possible fostering of homosexuality in the respondents was the parental dominance factor. Much of the psychoanalytic literature is replete with mention of the idea that a dominant seductive mother can produce homosexuality in her male offspring, and a cold hostile father can produce said deviance in his female offspring. Table 10 represents how the 53 respondents used in this

TABLE 10

Perceived Parental Dominance Factor in Respondents' Life by Sex

Sex	Parental Dominance							
	Mother Dominant		Father Dominant		Shared Dominance		Sub Totals	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Male	16	61	1	4	9	35	26	100
Female	12	44	5	19	10	37	27	100
Totals	28	53	6	11	19	36	53	100

$P > .05$ 2 df

study viewed their own parental dominance factor. Of the 26 males in the sample, 16 (61 per cent) saw their mothers as dominant in their families, 1 (4 per cent) saw the father as dominant, and 9 (35 per cent) saw mother and father as sharing dominance and leadership. Of the 27 females in the sample, 12 (44 per cent) saw the mothers as dominant, 5 (19 per cent) saw the fathers as dominant, and 10 (37 per cent) saw the parents as sharing dominance. The chi square run on Table 10 did not approach significance; however, although the sample used in this study is small it is interesting to note that popular psychoanalytic theory did not apply in this study with reference to the female respondents and the father dominant family, although there is psychoanalytic literature which relates mother dominance to female homosexuality.

The following discussion is directed toward an analysis of how the respondents view their relationships with their families in particular and straight society in general. The respondents were asked whether they visit their immediate families with their lovers. Eleven of the males in the sample (42 per cent) indicated that they did visit their families with their lovers, while 23 (85 per cent) of the females in the sample so visited their families. Overall then, 34 of the total 53 in the sample (64 per cent) do in fact visit their immediate families with their homosexual lovers. It was elicited also whether the respondents had ever visited their families with their lovers. This was asked because at the time immediately prior to filling out the questionnaires, the respondents may have been between affairs and would not have had a lover. Eighteen of the 26 males in the sample (69 per cent) said that they had indeed visited their families with their lovers in the past, and 27 of the females (100 per cent) so indicated. In sum, 45 of the 53 respondents in the total sample (85 per cent) indicated that they either do visit or have visited their immediate families with their lovers.

TABLE 11

Perception of Knowledge and Acceptance of Homosexuality by Sex of Respondent

Sex	Familial Awareness											
	Family's Knowledge of Respondent's Homosexuality						Projected Familial Reaction to such Knowledge (Acceptance)					
	Yes		No		Sub Total		Yes		No		Some		Sub Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Male	15	58	11	42	26	100	6	23	2	8	18	69	26	100
Female	10	37	17	63	27	100	6	22	3	11	18	67	27	100
Totals	25	47	28	53	53	100	12	23	5	9	36	68	53	100

$P > .05$ 1 df $P > .05$ 2 df

In the same vein, and since such a high percentage of the respondents have visited or do visit their families with their lovers, it might be interesting to view whether the families know of the respondents' homosexuality and, if they should know or find out about it, how do the respondents feel their families would accept the knowledge. Table 11 displays these data in relationships to one another by sex of the respondents. Fifteen of the 26 males in the sample (58 per cent) said that their families knew of

their homosexuality, while 11 of the 26 (42 per cent) indicated that their families did not know. Of the 27 females in the sample, 10 (37 per cent) claimed that their families knew of their deviance, and 17 (63 per cent) said that their families did not know. Thus, 25 of the total sample of 53 (47 per cent) stated that their families knew of their deviance, while 28 of the 53 (53 per cent) said that the families were unaware of the respondents' homosexuality.

When asked whether the family members would accept the respondents should their deviance become known to those members, 6 of the 26 males (23 per cent) said they would accept the respondents' deviance; 2 (8 per cent) said the family would not accept it; and 18 (69 per cent) indicated that some family members would accept the deviance. Six of the 27 females (22 per cent) felt that the family would accept them and their deviance; 3 (11 per cent) felt that the family would not accept the deviance; and 18 (67 per cent) indicated that some of the family would accept the deviance. In capsule form, then, 12 of the 53 total respondents (23 per cent) felt that the family would accept their deviance; 5 (9 per cent) felt that the family would not accept it; and 36 of the 53 (68 per cent) said that some of the family would accept it. The chi square run on Table 11 did not approach significance at the .05 level and the frequency distributions were not disparate.

When asked whether they felt uncomfortable in the presence of relatives, including those outside the immediate family, given that the respondents' homosexuality was unknown to these relatives, 9 of the 26 males (35 per cent) said that they did feel uncomfortable, while 7 of the 27 females (26 per cent) said that they were uncomfortable. In total, 16 of the 53 respondents in the total sample (30 per cent) indicated that they did feel uncomfortable in the presence of relatives, the respondents' deviance being unknown to those relatives.

Another facet to be viewed, other than the respondents' actions and feelings concerning their families, is how the respondents act and feel in the presence of straight society in general. Tables 12, 13 and 14 represent statistical relationships to this particular facet. It was asked whether the respondents felt uncomfortable in a heterosexual social setting, their deviance being unknown to the group. Of the 26 males in the sample, 1 (4 per cent) said that he did feel uncomfortable; 13 (50 per cent) said that they did not feel uneasy; and 12 (46 per cent) indicated that they sometimes felt uncomfortable. Regarding the females, they approximated the males in response distribution. One of the 27 in the sample (4 per cent) said that she did feel ill-at-ease; 15 (56 per cent) indicated that they did not; and 11 (40 per cent) said that they sometimes felt uneasy. In sum, the profile indicated that 2 of the 53 total respondents in the sample (4 per cent) felt uneasy; 28 (53 per cent) did not; and 23 (43 per cent) indicated that they sometimes felt uneasy in a heterosexual social setting.

Asked whether or not they felt deviant, odd or strange in a straight group, none of the males indicated that they did; 16 (62 per cent) said that they did not; and 10 (38 per cent) said that they sometimes felt deviant. None of the females indicated that they felt deviant; 23 (85 per cent) said that they did not; and 4 maintained that they sometimes felt deviant. For the entire sample, none of the 53 indicated that they felt deviant, odd or strange in a straight group; 39 (74 per cent) said that they did not; and 14 (26 per cent) said that they sometimes felt deviant in such a setting. Although the chi square run on Table 12 did not approach significance at the .05 level, some of the observed and expected frequency distributions are noteworthy regarding whether the respondents felt deviant, odd or strange in a straight group. The observed frequency of 16 in the negative male response has an expected frequency of 19.1; and the observed frequency of 10 in response to the "sometimes" category has an expected frequency of 6.9. For the female response to the "sometimes" category, the observed frequency was 4 and the expected frequency was 7.1

TABLE 12

Feelings in a Heterosexual Environment (Respondents' Homosexuality Being Unknown) by Sex

Sex	Feelings of Respondent															
	Uncomfortable in Heterosexual Social Setting								Feel Deviant, Odd or Strange in a Straight Group							
	Yes		No		Sometimes		Sub Totals		Yes		No		Sometimes		Sub Totals	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Male	1	4	13	50	12	46	26	100	0	0	16	62	10	38	26	100
Female	1	4	15	56	11	40	27	100	0	0	23	85	4	15	27	100
Totals	2	4	28	53	23	43	53	100	0	0	39	74	14	26	53	100
	P>.05 2 df								P>.05 2 df							

Table 13 compares the male and female respondents' feelings concerning whether they feel deviant in a straight group (same as Table 12) with whether they feel that they have successfully hidden their homosexuality from most of straight society. Since the responses to whether they feel deviant in a straight group have been discussed above, only the responses to whether they feel that they have successfully hidden their homosexuality from most of straight society are discussed below. Of the 26 males in the sample, 14 (54 per cent) indicated that they felt they have hidden their deviance successfully; 12 (46 per cent) felt that they have not. Of the 27 females in the sample, 24 (89 per cent) felt that they successfully have hidden their deviance; and 3 (11 per cent) felt that they have not. The

TABLE 13

Feelings About Hidden Deviance by Sex

Sex	Feelings of Respondents															
	Feel Deviant, Odd or Strange in a Straight Group								Have Successfully Hidden Homosexuality From Most of Straight Society							
	Yes		No		Sometimes		Sub Totals		Yes		No		Sub Totals			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%		
Male	0	0	16	62	10	38	26	100	14	54	12	46	26	100		
Female	0	0	23	85	4	15	27	100	24	89	3	11	27	100		
Totals	0	0	39	74	14	26	53	100	38	72	15	28	53	100		
	P>.05 2 df								P<.05 1 df							

chi square run of this variable approached significance at the .05 level and the disparity between the observed and expected frequencies are worthy of attention. For the males, the observed frequency of 14 indicating that they have hidden their deviance had an expected frequency of 18.6. The observed frequency of 12 in the negative response to this question had an expected frequency of 7.4. For the females, the observed frequency of 24 indicating that they had hidden their deviance successfully has an expected frequency of 19.4; and the observed frequency of 3 in the negative response has an expected frequency of 7.6. Thus, it is seen that there is a positive relationship between the respondents' deviance and the distribution of their answers to the question under consideration. Perhaps one of the reasons why many more women than men believed that they had successfully hidden their deviance is that Lesbians in our society enjoy a much lower profile than do male homosexuals. It is not uncommon for two women to be very close friends, live together as room-mates, and be seen together frequently. The fact that they do not date frequently—if at all—or that they do not marry is not considered their fault since men must ask them to date or to marry. Male homosexuals do not, for the most part, enjoy this freedom in their lifestyles without incurring some question as to their mode of living.

To continue with the question of how the respondents feel and react in straight society, it was asked of them how they would react to heterosexual degradation of homosexuality. It was chosen to measure this reaction by asking the respondents how they would feel if they were at a straight party and someone told a joke about "queers." Table 14 indicates the responses to this question. Of the 26 males in the sample, 4 (15 per cent) said that they would feel hurt by such a joke; 5 (19 per cent) indicated that they would be angry; 17 (66 per cent) said that they would feel indifferent. Of the 27 females in the sample, none indicated that they would feel hurt at such a joke; 4 (15 per cent) said that they would be angry; and 23 (85 per cent) stated that they would feel indifferent. Regarding the entire sample, 4 of the 53 respondents (8 per cent) indicated that they would feel hurt; 9 (17 per cent) said that they would be angry; and 40 (75 per cent) stated that they would be indifferent to such a joke. Although the chi square run on Table 14 did not indicate significance at the .05 level, the probability factor was .08 and the disparity between observed and expected frequencies might be of interest. Concerning the male responses in the "hurt" category, the observed frequency was 4, but the expected frequency was 1.9. In the "angry" category the observed frequency was 5 and the expected frequency was 4.4. In the "indifferent" category the observed frequency was 17 and the expected frequency was 19.6. For the female responses in the "hurt" category, the observed frequency was 0 and the expected frequency was 2. In the "angry" category the observed frequency was 4 and the expected was 4.6. In the "indifferent" category the observed frequency was 23 and the expected frequency was 20.4.

TABLE 14

Respondents' Reaction to Heterosexual Degradation of Homosexuality by Sex

Sex	Respondents' Reaction							
	Hurt		Angry		Indifferent		Sub Totals	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Male	4	15	5	19	17	66	26	100
Female	0	0	4	15	23	85	27	100
Totals	4	8	9	17	40	75	53	100

P > .05 2df

The following discussion is concerned with the respondents' view of themselves, their deviant world and their parts in this deviant world. Table 15 presents some statistics regarding how the respondents view their own physical attractiveness. Of the 26 males in the sample, 3 (12 per cent) felt that they were very attractive; 22 (84 per cent) said that they were attractive; and 1 (4 per cent) claimed that he was unattractive. For the females, 7 of the 27 in the sample (26 per cent) felt that they were very attractive; 18 (67 per cent) felt that they were attractive; and 2 (7 per cent) felt that they were unattractive. In all, 10 of the 53 total respondents (19 per cent) felt that they were very attractive; 40 (75 per cent) said that they were attractive; and 3 (6 per cent) felt that they were unattractive. The chi square on this table did not indicate significance at the .05 level and the disparity between observed and expected frequencies was small.

TABLE 15

Respondents' View of Own Physical Attractiveness by Sex

Sex	Views of Attractiveness							
	Very Attractive		Attractive		Unattractive		Sub Totals	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Male	3	12	22	84	1	4	26	100
Female	7	26	18	67	2	7	27	100
Totals	10	19	40	75	3	6	53	100

P > .05 2 df

Table 16 displays some statistics regarding the aggressiveness of the respondents in seeking partners. When asked whether or not they frequented gay bars, 23 of the 26 male respondents (88 per cent) indicated that they did, while 3 of the 26 (12 per cent) said that they did not. Of the 27 females, 18 (67 per cent) said that they did frequent gay bars, while 9 (33 per cent) indicated that they did not frequent such establishments. In overview, 41 of the total 53 respondents (77 per cent) indicated that they did frequent gay bars, while 12 of the 53 (23 per cent) indicated that they did not.

When asked whether they had ever initiated a straight person into the gay life, 11 of the males (42 per cent) said that they had, while 15 (58 per cent) said that they had

TABLE 16

Aggressiveness in Seeking Partners by Sex

Sex	Aggressiveness											
	Frequent Gay Bars						Recruitment: Ever Initiated Straight Person into Gay Life					
	Yes		No		Sub Totals		Yes		No		Sub Totals	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Male	23	88	3	12	26	100	11	42	15	58	26	100
Female	18	67	9	33	27	100	10	37	17	63	27	100
Totals	41	77	12	23	53	100	21	40	32	60	53	100

P > .05 1 df P > .05 1 df

not. Ten of the 27 females (37 per cent) indicated that they had perpetrated such an initiation, while 17 (63 per cent) said that they had not. Overall, 21 of the total 53 respondents (40 per cent) said that they had initiated a straight person into the gay life, and 32 of the 53 (60 per cent) said that they had not. The chi squares run on Table 16 were not significant at the .05 level; however, the figures indicate that the males are more aggressive than the females—especially in their frequenting of gay bars—and this seems consistent with what might be found in the general population. The frequency distributions for the gay bar variable were interesting nonetheless. The observed frequency for positive male responses was 23 and the expected frequency was 20. The observed frequency for male negative responses was 3 and the expected frequency was 5.9. For the females, the observed frequency for the positive responses was 18 and the expected frequency was 20.9, while the observed frequency for the negative responses was 9 and the expected frequency was 6.

TABLE 17

Respondents' Views on Interpersonal Relationships by Sex

Sex	Views on Relationships															
	Preference for Type Relationship						Belief in Fidelity Between Gay Lovers						Belief that Love is Necessary for Sex			
	Long Lasting		Short Intense Affairs		Sub Totals		Yes		No		Sub Totals		Yes		No		Sub Totals	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Male	22	85	4	15	26	100	17	65	9	35	26	100	2	8	24	92	26	100
Female	27	100	0	0	27	100	24	89	3	11	27	100	13	48	14	52	27	100
Totals	49	92	4	8	53	100	41	77	12	23	53	100	15	28	38	72	53	100

P > .05 1 df P > .05 1 df P < .05 1 df

Table 17 attempts to display some statistics concerning the respondents' views on their interpersonal relationships. When asked whether they would prefer a long-lasting or a short intense relationship, 22 of the 26 males (85 per cent) said that they would prefer a long-lasting relationship. Four of the 26 (15 per cent) indicated that they would prefer the shorter, more intense type. Of the 27 females in the sample, all of them indicated they would prefer a long-lasting relationship to the short intense type. According to the chi square run of this variable, which did not approach significance at the .05 level, the frequency distributions did not vary significantly.

When questioned as to whether or not they believed in fidelity between gay lovers, 17 of the 26 males (65 per cent) said that they did; 9 (35 per cent) said that they did not. Of the 27 women, 24 (89 per cent) indicated that they did believe in such fidelity, while 3 (11 per cent) indicated that they did not. Although the chi square on this variable did not approach significance, there was noteworthy disparity between observed and expected frequencies. The observed frequency of 17 males who responded affirmatively concerning belief in fidelity between gay lovers had an expected frequency of 20, and the observed negative frequency of 9 had an expected frequency of 5.9. For the females, the observed positive frequency of 24 had an expected frequency of 20.9, while the observed negative frequency of 3 had an expected frequency of 6.

The final variable displayed in Table 17 concerns whether or not the respondents believed that love is a necessary prerequisite to sex. Of the 26 males, 2 (8 per cent) said that they thought love was necessary for sex, while 24 (92 per cent) indicated that this was not the case. Of the 27 females, 13 (48 per cent) felt that love was necessary for sex and 14 (52 per cent) did not. The chi square on this variable did in fact approach significance at the .05 level and the frequency distributions reveal a wide disparity vis a vis observed and expected frequencies. Of the 2 male positive observed responses, the expected frequency was 7.4. Of the 24 negative responses, the expected frequency was 18.6. Regarding the females, the 13 observed positive responses had an expected frequency of 7.6; the 14 observed negative responses had an expected frequency of 19.4. These figures point up that in a chance distribution, more males would be expected to respond positively and fewer negatively. Just the opposite should be the case for the females. These distributions also indicate on their face that the response obtained by the questionnaire conforms to what might be expected from the general population since in our society it seems that males are socialized to sex first and love second, whereas just the opposite seems to be true for the females, although the data does not lend itself to a positive conclusion in this regard.

Next follows a brief discussion of the respondents' feelings about their involvement in homosexuality. The statistics relative to several variables in this regard are found in Table 18. When asked whether the respondents felt guilty about being gay, 1 of the 26 males (4 per cent) said that he did feel guilty; 15 (58 per cent) indicated that they did not feel guilty; and 10 (38 per cent) stated that they sometimes felt guilt concerning their gayness. The female responses approximated those of the males. One of the 27 females (4 per cent) said that she did feel guilty; 18 (68 per cent) said that they did not feel guilty; and 8 (31 per cent) said that they sometimes felt guilt about being gay. In sum, 2 of the 53 total respondents in the sample (4 per cent) said that they did in fact feel guilty about being gay; 33 of the 53 (62 per cent) stated that they did not; and 18 (34 per cent) indicated that they sometimes felt guilty.

The chi square run on this variable did not approach significance at the .05 level and the spread between observed and expected frequencies was not disparate.

TABLE 18

Respondents' Feelings About Gay Life by Sex

Sex	Respondents' Feelings															
	Feelings of Guilt About Being Gay								Ever Wish You Were Not Gay							
	Yes		No		Sometimes		Sub Totals		Yes		No		Sometimes		Sub Totals	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Male	1	4	15	58	10	38	26	100	2	8	10	39	14	54	26	100
Female	1	4	18	68	8	31	27	100	1	4	21	78	5	18	27	100
Totals	2	4	33	62	18	34	53	100	3	6	31	58	19	36	53	100
	P >.05 2 df								P <.05 2 df							
	Advice to Younger Sibling								Feel Abnormal About Gayness							
Male	5	19	6	23	15	58	26	100	1	4	16	62	9	34	26	100
Female	4	15	6	22	17	63	27	100	1	4	23	85	3	11	27	100
Totals	9	17	12	23	32	60	53	100	2	4	39	73	12	23	53	100
	P >.05 2 df								P <.05 2 df							

Also in Table 18 are statistics related to whether the respondents ever wish that they were not gay. Of the 26 men, 2 (8 per cent) answered that they do wish they were not gay; 10 (38 per cent) indicated that they have no such desire; and 14 (54 per cent) stated that they sometimes wished they were not gay. For the 27 women in the sample, 1 (4 per cent) said that she wished she were not gay; 21 (78 per cent) expressed no such desire; and 5 (18 per cent) indicated that they sometimes wished they were not gay. In total, 3 of the 53 respondents in the sample (6 per cent) indicated that they wished that they were not gay; 31 of the 53 (58 per cent) stated that they had no such desire; and 19 of the 53 (36 per cent) said that they sometimes wished they were not gay. The chi square run on this variable approached significance at the .05 level and the disparity between observed and expected frequencies might be of interest. The observed frequency of the males in the "yes" category (2 responses) had an expected frequency of 1.5. The negative observed frequency of 10 had an expected frequency of 15.2. The 14 observed responses in the "sometimes" category had an expected frequency of 9.3. For the female respondents, the 1 observed frequency response in the "yes" category had an expected frequency of 1.5, while the observed frequency of 21 in the "no" category had an expected frequency of 15.8. In the "sometimes" category, the observed frequency of 5 had an expected frequency of 9.7. These disparities point up a degree of significance in the relationship of the male and female respondents and the manner in which they answered the question under consideration. Also, the relative ambivalance of the males compared to the females in their desire not to be gay could indicate that the males are less secure in their adjustment to their deviance than are the females.

The next variable to be discussed in Table 18 is related to the type of advice the respondents would give to a younger sibling if the respondent should discover that such a sibling was experimenting seriously with the gay life. Five of the 26 males (19 per cent) indicated that they would advise this sibling to stay straight; 6 of the 26 males (23 per cent) said that they would advise the sibling to become gay; and 15 (58 per cent) indicated that they would offer no advice or tell the sibling to do whichever made him happier. Of the 27 females, 4 (15 per cent) would advise the sibling to stay straight; 6 (22 per cent) would advise him to become gay; and 17 (63 per cent) would either offer no advice or advise the sibling to do whichever made him happier. Overall, 9 of the 53 total respondents would advise the sibling to stay straight; 12 (23 per cent) would advise him to become gay; and 32 (60 per cent) would offer no advice. The chi square on this variable did not approach significance at the .05 level and the disparity between observed and expected frequencies was minimal.

The remaining variable to be discussed in Table 18 concerns whether the respondents feel abnormal about their homosexuality. Regarding the male respondents, 1 of the 26 (4 per cent) said that he did feel abnormal about his gayness; 16 (62 per cent) indicated that they did not feel abnormal; and 9 of the 26 males (34 per cent) stated that they sometimes felt abnormal. Of the 27 females, 1 (4 per cent) said that she felt abnormal about her deviance; 28 (85 per cent) maintained that they did not; and 3 (11 per cent) indicated that they sometimes felt abnormal. In overview, 2 of the 53 total respondents (4 per cent) said that they felt abnormal; 39 (73 per cent) stated that they did not; and 12 of the 53 (23 per cent) indicated that they sometimes felt abnormal concerning their homosexuality. The chi square run on this variable indicated significance at .05 level. The observed frequency of 1 in the positive category for the males had an expected frequency of 0.9, while the observed negative frequency of 16 had an expected frequency of 19.7, and the observed frequency of 9 in the "sometimes" category had an expected frequency of 5.4. For the females, the observed frequency of 1 in the positive category had an expected frequency of 1.1, while the observed negative frequency of 28 had an expected frequency of 24.3; and the observed frequency of 3 in the "sometimes" category had an expected frequency of 6.6. Once again the females seem to be more secure in their adjustment to their deviance than do the males in the sample.

Another facet of the respondents' involvement in homosexuality was tapped by questions related to the areas of homosexual love-making. The statistics regarding this matter are found in Table 19. The males were asked whether they have ever employed a vagina substitute (excluding anal and oral intercourse) while engaged in sexual relations with their lovers. All 26 males in the sample denied that any such device was ever employed by them. The female responses were more divided. Nine of 27 women (33 per cent) indicated that they had indeed employed a penis substitute (dildo of any type) during sexual intercourse with their homosexual lovers. Eighteen of the women (67 per cent) had not employed such a device. In total, 9 of the 53 respondents (17 per cent) had employed an artificial sex organ of the opposite sex during love-making; 44 of the 53 (83 per cent) had not used such a method. The chi square on this variable proved signific-

ant at the .05 level indicating a relationship between the male and female respondents and their use of artificial sexual organs associated with the opposite sex. The frequency distributions also indicate noteworthiness. The positive observed male frequency response of 0 had an expected frequency of 4.4, while the observed negative response of 26 had an expected frequency of 21.6. For the females, the positive observed frequency response of 9 had an expected frequency of 4.6, while the observed negative response frequency 18 had an expected frequency of 22.4. On the face of these figures it would seem that the females were more experiment-oriented and less inhibited than the males.

TABLE 19

Views of Respondents Concerning Love-Making by Sex

Sex	Use of and Desire for Opposite Sex Organ Substitute									
	Use of Vagina (Males) or Penis (Females) Substitute in Love-Making						Desire for Vagina (Males) or Penis (Females) During Love-Making					
	Yes		No		Sub Totals		Yes		No		Sub Totals	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Males	0	0	26	100	26	100	6	23	20	77	26	100
Females	9	33	18	67	27	100	15	55	12	45	27	100
Totals	9	17	44	83	53	100	21	40	32	60	53	100
	P < .05 1 df						P < .05 1 df					

When asked, on the other hand, whether the respondents ever desired such a sex organ, the frequency response differed materially. Of the 26 males, 6 (23 per cent) indicated that they did desire a vagina while engaged in homosexual love-making, while 20 (77 per cent) indicated that they did not. Of the 27 females in the sample, 15 (55 per cent) said that they desired a penis while engaged sexually with their lovers, while 12 (45 per cent) indicated that they did not. The chi square on this variable also was significant at the .05 level, as was the disparity in the observed and expected frequency distributions. With the males, the observed positive response frequency of 6 had an expected frequency of 10.3, while the observed negative response frequency of 20 had an expected frequency of 15.7. For the females, the observed positive response frequency of 15 had an expected frequency of 10.7, while the observed negative response frequency of 12 had an expected frequency of 16.3.

Following is a discussion regarding how the respondents perceived the physical possibility for them having heterosexual intercouse with a straight person of the opposite sex if they cared a great deal for this person. The respondents were divided into 3 categories according to how they rated themselves: exclusively gay, bisexual, and predominantly homosexual. Of the 14 males who rated themselves as exclusively gay, 5 (19 per cent) said that heterosexual intercourse was possible for them, while 9 (35 per cent) said that it was not possible. In the bisexual category, 4 (15 per cent) said that heterosexual intercourse was possible for them and none said that it was not. For those males who viewed themselves as predominantly homosexual, 6 (23 per cent) indicated that straight intercourse was a possibility for them, while 2 (8 per cent) indicated that it was not. Thus, 15 (58 per cent) of the 26 males in the sample said that heterosexual intercourse was physically possible for them, and 11 (42 per cent) of the 26 said that it was not.

For the females who rated themselves as exclusively gay, 5 (19 per cent) indicated that normal intercourse was possible for them, while 6 (22 per cent) said that it was not. Of the 4 bisexual women, all said that it was possible for them. Of those in the predominantly homosexual category, 6 (22 per cent) said that such intercourse was physically possible, and 6 (22 per cent) said that it was not. Thus, of the 27 women in the sample, 15 (56 per cent) thought that heterosexual intercourse was possible for them, while 12 (44 per cent) said that it was not. For the sample overall, 30 of the 53 respondents (57 per cent) felt that such intercourse was physically possible for them, while 23 (43 per cent) did not. The chi square run on this variable approached significance at the .05 level and indicates a relationship of import between the categories of males and females and whether or not they feel that heterosexual intercourse is possible for them.

The remaining variable in Table 20, i.e., whether the respondents feel that love is a necessary prerequisite to sex, was discussed when Table 17 was presented above. It was also included in Table 20 in an attempt to show a connection between it and whether the respondents felt

TABLE 20

Perceived Physical Possibility for Heterosexual Intercourse Compared with Love as Necessary for Intercourse by Sex

Perceived Depth of Deviance by Sex	Views Toward Sexual Relationships									
	Perceived Physical Possibility for Heterosexual Intercourse						Love as Necessary for Sex			
	Yes		No		Sub Total		Yes		No		Sub Total	
Male:	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Exclusively Gay	5	19	9	35	14	54	2	8	12	46	14	54
Bisexual	4	15	0	0	4	15	0	0	4	15	4	15
Predominantly Homosexual	6	23	2	8	8	31	0	0	8	31	8	31
Column Sub Totals	15	58	11	42	26	100	2	8	24	92	26	100
Female:												
Exclusively Gay	5	19	6	22	11	41	7	26	4	15	11	41
Bisexual	4	15	0	0	4	15	2	7	2	7	4	14
Predominantly Homosexual	6	22	6	22	12	44	4	15	8	30	12	45
Column Sub Totals	15	56	12	44	27	100	13	48	14	52	27	100
Totals	30	57	23	43	53	100	15	28	38	72	53	100
	P > .05 5 df						P < .05 5 df					

that heterosexual intercourse with a straight person for whom they cared was possible. On the face of the figures, 15 of the men in the sample felt that they could have heterosexual intercourse with someone for whom they cared a great deal, yet only 2 thought that love was a prerequisite for sex. The figures for the women seem more logically consistent.

In the same trend as the above discussion, the respondents were asked whether they felt that homosexuality was as legitimate an expression of love as heterosexuality. Twenty-five of the males answered in the affirmative, with 1 man being uncertain, while all 27 of the females answered in the affirmative.

When asked how they viewed obvious homosexuals (extremely effeminate males and extremely masculine females), 4 of the male respondents and 5 of the females said they were disgusted by these obvious homosexuals; 10 of the males and 15 of the females avoided these types; and 21 men and 13 women felt indifferent towards them. Multiple responses were permitted to this question, so the totals of responses by sex do not equal the totals of males and females in the sample.

When asked about the length of the longest lasting homosexual relationship in which the respondents had been involved, the average longest lasting male relationship was 40 months and ranged from 0 to 120 months. For the females the average longest lasting relationship was 49 months and ranged from 6 to 156 months. Although the females seemed to enjoy relationships of longer duration than the males, the overall short length of the relationships might be of interest to someone who is interested in further research in this area of deviant behavior.

Another question asked of the respondents concerning their involvement in homosexuality was whether they believed in or sanctioned marriages of convenience (marrying a homosexual of the opposite sex in order to put up a front for the dominant society). Of the 26 males in the sample, 7 so sanctioned such marriages; and of the 27 females in the sample, the same number—7—stated that they believed in such marital arrangements.

Questions sixty-six and sixty-seven in the questionnaire were open-ended questions and required short written answers by the respondents. Some of the more meaningful responses are quoted below by sexual category of the respondents. **Question sixty-six read: In your own words, please give me a brief explanation of why you are gay in a predominantly non-gay world.**

Male Responses

1. "As far back as I can remember I had gay tendencies although at that time I did not know what it was. I moved from the home I was in from birth when I entered first grade and previous to that time I had as great interest in my penis and watching my father when he bathed. I also believe that my mother being a very dominant and demanding woman had an influence and always felt that I would never marry and be tied down with a woman, feeling, when younger, that all women were like her."

2. "I have no idea. I can't say that I think about it that much. My feelings about men come as naturally to me as perhaps your feelings about women (assuming you're straight) come to you. Given the supposition of a 'predominantly non-gay world' my acceptance of my gay orientation must be something of a conscious psychological choice (at least at this point; I mean I have no desire to change what it is I feel for men emotionally and physically)."

3. "I believe very strongly that I was born this way."

4. "In all probability just because it suits me and my way of life."

5. "Perhaps there is some yet undiscovered genetic basis for one's being gay, but it seems to me that homosexual behavior is largely **environmentally induced** (emphasis is that of the respondent) at an early age—the formative years, if you will—which may or may not manifest itself as one becomes aware of one's sexuality. Because of societal stigma, it may well remain well-hidden, either consciously or unconsciously, or possibly even dormant until some particular event causes homosexual feelings to surface."

6. "I am more comfortable being myself,—why should I negate what is me for the sake of society? Let society change."

7. "I feel that I am by nature gay and to be actively anything else would be dishonest. There is a certain elevated consciousness, in the Marxist sense, in being part of a persecuted and special class. To be gay is to be part of a family of gay people. There is a community of gays, and I am proud and happy to be a part of that community. Having the same problems in common with such a large group makes the problems more tolerable, and actually contributes to a sense of sanity in the individual. To a certain extent, I feel superior to non-gays and believe that I am part of a special class. The calibre of people among my gay friends is certainly superior to my non-gay contacts, particularly with regard to the humanities and arts.

My decision to come out came after a long period of serious consideration. Perhaps the most important motivating factor was my concern for others in my position. I felt obligated to make it easier for other potentially-active gays to come out and be actively gay. By leading an openly gay life, I serve as an example to other latent homosexuals that it is possible; and I serve as a slap in the face (and an instrument of change in attitude) to an uninformed and anti-gay world."

8. "In my opinion you are assuming the world is non-gay which is completely invalid and strikes of being a narrow opinion for someone to have when doing research of this type. The validity of your thesis is going to be weighed very heavily and the information that I and

others are giving you must be used to the fullest. Also the term gay that you are using is categorizing us as complete homosexuals in this questionnaire. I can only say to you that I am the way I am because I am _____ (name omitted by this researcher) and that is all the validity I need for my way of life."

9. "It is what I feel I have to do in order to satisfy myself and be true to my own needs."

10. "I have the classic psychological background for homosexual development: a hostile, often-absent father and an emotionally 'seductive,' dominating mother. And yet I do not fear or mistrust women, and I do not look for lovers who will be father substitutes. If I am gay it is because **nothing** (emphasis is that of respondent) ever impelled me towards a woman except social pressure and a desire for sexual release; while all of my instincts impelled me towards men, and only **fear** (emphasis supplied by respondent) kept me from real physical contact with them before my first overt affair at the age of 19."

11. "The state of the world has nothing to do with my being gay. How I received my sexual identity I do not know. Neither do most of the other people that I know, straight or gay. No one ever asked me which kind of sexual response I would choose to have. It just happened. I have never been attracted to or responded sexually to women. They do not arouse me. I came out naturally in midadolescence and had a very 'normal' homosexual adolescence. I became aware of my interest in men in my early teens. It is the only sexual interest that I have ever had or am ever likely to have. Further, I am not particularly interested in why I am gay. It is not a practical sort of question to ask. I am and that's that. The point is how I can function in society as a homosexual. I might add that asking a heterosexual why he is straight would probably elicit an indifferent response. It is also an unfair question since most people wouldn't know. It is a typically **heterosexual** (emphasis supplied by respondent) attitude to ask gays why they are gay without applying the same questioning to heterosexuality."

12. "I believe that I am gay largely because of the home environment that existed when I was very young. As so often seems the case my mother was more dominant than my father; not necessarily because she chose this role, but due to my father's passivity. I also believe that although my father loved me he gave almost no physical expression of it which I very much needed. Besides this is the fact that my parents' marital problems gave little security to me as I grew up. There were no physical fights, but the verbal battles were often very ugly with mother's icy silences between them."

13. "I have been gay since early teens and moved in a gay circle all my life and have had no problems with life and I have many straight friends."

14. "I don't believe it was an act of choosing which way to go. As long as I remember I was attracted to members of my same sex—this goes back to the third and fourth grade. I guess being an only child with my father 40 years old when I was born, I always wanted a brother around the same age as myself to be with. As I look back now I used to cry myself to sleep sometimes wishing I had a brother sleeping next to me and I used to fantacize that certain friends and boys in my class were my brother."

15. "Simply because I am. Because it is my feeling—not my mental idea of myself or my attitude, consciously considered. I respond, predominantly emotionally and certainly physically/sexually to men, though I truly believe, mentally, that women are more interesting, more daring and even more capable of dealing with people and the world, than men."

16. "I believe that I am gay because that is the way God made me. I don't believe in those people who say that homosexuality is morally wrong, who say we're doomed to eternal hell because we are homosexuals. I'm gay because God made me that way. I've known that for many years now and it really gives me peace of mind. To blame it on any one factor, I would have to say that the early years of childhood are the basis. My mother is a very strong dominant woman while my father is the outdoors type. I hardly ever saw him when I was little since he was always fishing or hunting. He left all the family life to be centered around my mother."

17. "As one of your previous questions asked, I feel I was born this way and the Christian pampered home helped. My father is very masculine but he had a part in my early experiences (fondling each other). The Air Force is where I finally came out into the gay world. As many people I've met. (You get very lonely.) My parents being so strict and always saying you shouldn't have sex until after married, and you (I feel) relate to previous experiences and my best and most successful experiences were with men. Maybe I would have been straight (or played the role) if I'd gotten married, but I know I wouldn't have been happy. I have met some people (gay) that were previously married (like the man I live with) and some that are married and have homosexual relationships. I feel it's all part of life."

18. "Because I would not function if I tried to be something that I'm not; a man turns me on."

19. "I'm gay for a few very simple reasons. (1) It is simply the way I am. (2) Being gay makes me happy—why try to be something you are not? (3) If I could write with certainty why I am gay that would answer one of mankind's most baffeling riddles. The point is, if you are gay why on earth would you not be 'gay in a predominantly non-gay world'?"

20. "There is no 'why'—it is not a matter of choice—its just something that is—you can't say 'why gay' any more than you would say 'why are you black, or white, or straight.' I accept my gaiety because it is me—I do not live a lie. My feelings are gay—therefore my actions are gay."

Female Responses

1. "Because I was born and brought up to love all people and I found the physical expression of love was strongest and most satisfying for me in the gay life. Also I do not feel (if the full truth be known) that this is a predominantly non-gay world."

2. "I do not consider myself completely gay, and just do what I feel at the time. (I am in no way a loose woman!) If I am involved with a woman at one certain time, I do feel a great deal for this person, before I can become totally involved with them, just the same as if it were a man. To me, it makes no difference if you are male or female, as long as you care about each other."

3. "As stated in your questionnaire, I feel I was born this way. This being the case it is self-explanatory. It is not the easiest life however, yet certainly not the worst. My only regrets are fear of loss of job if discovered, and the other is not being able to really inform parents and let them feel happy with me in my love."

4. "I really can't explain why I am gay. All I know is this is the **only** life I am **happy** in!" (Emphasis supplied by respondent.)

5. "First of all—who says this is a 'predominantly non-gay world'? If all the facts—100%—were totaled up—100% honestly—a lot of people might be surprised. We just might be the majority and straight people the minority! I doubt that we'll ever really know. People are just not 100% honest when it comes to the factual truth! I've always wanted a woman, loving, understanding, friend to me, mother. I guess I'm still looking for that person. I've always been lonely as a child and have searched for that certain someone. I'm a one person person. I like to cuddle!!!"

6. "I can find no honest answer for this question. I don't know why I'm gay, just that I have accepted it easily and have a very contented relationship, and don't find it a problem at all."

7. "Sexual satisfaction is really about the only way I can explain why I'm gay. I've never reached orgasm with a man and God knows I've had my experiences with 'all different makes and models.' A woman understands my wants and gives me warmth when I need it. I've never known a man that can do that. Sex is very important in my life—sometimes too important. I have to have it though, and only with a woman can it be fulfilling for me. With this being the most important need I have, how can I explain to you why I am gay in a predominantly non-gay world? For happiness and contentment."

8. "I enjoy the company of another female, their closeness, tenderness, the seeming ability to understand your feelings much better than the opposite sex. I like the beauty of a woman—and probably enjoy the mystery of my life since it appears to be more of a private life than any life you may lead. I enjoy the company of men and have probably more **friends** (emphasis is respondent's) of the opposite sex. They seem to admire me but at the same time respect the air I give of just simply wanting a friend, not an affair. I also respect them for treating me that way. I do not feel that I am gay strictly for want of another female because most females to me are just another person. There are very few that would really bother me as far as wanting sex with them. So far in 30 years I've only found 4 women that I truly desire to have sex with, but I enjoy the company of many and prefer gay people to straight people in most cases. They seem to have a much deeper perception of life and what really makes a person tick. This is also true of some straight people, but not as often."

9. "The explanation for myself being gay is very short. I did not find a heterosexual life complete. I never enjoyed intercourse with my male companion. I found myself, when I was married, becoming very close to other women, not men. Before the age of 21 I did not know why. Now I know. The reason is I was becoming gay and did not know it. If I had been approached by a gay, I think I would of (sic) been gay before 21. My x-husband doesn't know that I am gay. He is remarried now and I never see or hear from him. I am very happy and would never change my homosexuality."

10. "I'm not so sure this is a predominantly non-gay world. Of course I'm not conscious of all the people in the world to know if they are gay or not. There are certainly a lot of people who are gay, but do not admit it to themselves or even another person. To get to the question you asked: I suppose the only one explanation I can give for me being gay is very simple. I experienced my homosexual relationship (as a child growing up, that is) with my mother and never related my heterosexual experience with my father. Somehow it must have stopped there." (It is believed by this researcher that the respondent was trying to say that she over-identified with her mother and did not relate to her father when she was a child and this stultified her heterosexual orientation. It is not believed that the respondent meant that she had homosexual contact with her mother.)

11. "I am really happy with someone of the same sex as I am. We have made a good home for each other and also for my 3 children and we will share the rest of our lives together."

12. "I just fell in love with a woman friend who I had known for 1 1/2 years, who was gay, and found the warmest most tender love I had ever known. We have been together for 5 years and the emotions are so strong, I would rather be happy with her than to part and be just existing with a non-meaning marriage to a male. At first it was hard going against what society considers improper (respondent probably means 'proper' here), but now I am happy I followed my emotions. I have found true love and happiness."

13. "I have found a lasting relationship with someone of the same sex, as it happens. I am happy with this person and find this relationship very full-filling (sic) in every way. I have been 'straight' but am very comfortable being gay. I 'wear the pants' in this family, am very careful about picking new friends (good friends), my lover has 3 children so now I have a family. We all work hard for everything that we have (which is quite a lot) and we are all very happy. I wouldn't have it any other way now. We live as we want, doing just about everything that we want to do, go anywhere that we please and are pretty independant (sic)."

14. "I really don't know. I have never stopped to really try to figure it out."

15. "Is this a 'predominantly **non-gay** world'? If a survey were taken, and **honest** answers given, I wonder how many heterosexuals would admit a homosexual experience, or even the 'secret' thoughts of one!!!??? I'm gay mostly by choice! I **don't** hate men in general . . . just sexual contact with a man is not satisfying. I prefer my own sex, both sexually and companionship-wise, because members of the same sex have more in common! I feel my sex drives and desires are much the same as my lover, and in knowing how I like **mine** fulfilled, feel my lover has the same feelings. I can feel closer to a woman than a man." (All emphasis is that of respondent.)

16. "I fell in love with a person of my own sex. It was my first experience and is still a strong relationship after 8 years."

17. "Being raised in a family where my mother was the dominant part of my parents' relationship and having had two older brothers (being the first female born). My relationships with all men have been psychologically fulfilling. I was in love with a man who was much older than myself when I was in school and my parents dis-approved (sic) of this man because he was divorced. They tried to pick a husband for me that suited them. They disapproved of the man I married at the age of 18. My father tried, on several occasions, to become intimate with me when I was 16 years old. This, I feel, was probably one of the biggest influences. After being married for 2 years everything seemed to be not what I was looking for. Then I met the lover of my husband's sister and became very attracted to her. After a brief period of time I finally decided to go to a local gay bar where I met my lover."

18. "In order to be myself I chose to be a homosexual, knowing I had these feelings all my life."

19. "As far back as I can remember, I have had no physical desires for heterosexual intercourse. I never shared in the boy-interest of my friends. My interests, involving loving relationships, has always been towards girls, even at the age of 12 or 13, when I could not understand or discuss what I considered to be a problem. I waited until after graduation from college to begin my 'gay' life, because it wasn't until then that I met other 'gay' men and women. For almost 10 years—throughout puberty—I thought I was truly strange. These other people proved that I really wasn't all by myself in my feelings. I have never believed that my homosexuality is the result of psychological choice; rather, it is due to some undetermined biological difference or the result of a childhood in a mother dominant family."

20. "Because I have great respect for myself as an individual. I have great belief in individual expression and uniqueness of each person in our (or any other) society. My gayness or sexual predelections permit me to be a happier more productive individual. Simply, I am doing what is comfortable for me. This is most important! I may add that I do not (at any time) feel any committment (sic) to govern my life in a way that society has condoned, only in a way that is right for me. This gives me freedom and satisfaction and helps me and others feel strong when one strays in **any** way from societal norms." (Emphasis is respondent's.)

21. "I believe I'm gay for very definite reasons: (1) My respect and admiration for my father was **extremely** limited; (2) My mother was physically and emotionally a dominant; (3) having a twin (identical) sister, I feel I learned to cherish the warmth (physical-emotional) of a female. We were very close all thru (sic) childhood; (4) I don't like to be submissive or dependent on someone, especially in the heterosexual confines of our society. I like to make my own way and pretty much determine the course of my own life." (Emphasis is respondent's.)

22. "I'm aggressive and don't want children."

23. "I am most comfortable being myself which is living as a homosexual. Throughout my life, being completely heterosexual had to be forced and really only enacted for social functions. This I did in my early years and enjoyed these social functions in high school and college. At that age it is easily done because relationships don't become so serious and you run into fewer problems. Anymore, I don't believe in pretending for anyone or any reason."

24. "Simply because I find women more attractive than

men. This does not, however, mean that I dislike men. I find some men very attractive, but never enough to fall in love. I have been in the gay life since I was 22 years old. I have been in love three times and involved only three times. I live with my family because I feel I have certain obligations I must fulfill. It makes my life somewhat difficult, but I have a lover who is understanding and it helps. I would love to leave home and live with her, but I just can't bring myself to do it. If I could, I would be completely happy.

25. "Since psychiatrists and psychologists cannnot agree why a person is gay or straight, the important question is not why, but what is society going to do about it? Since gays are here and have been since man, society should accept us instead of blindfolding themselves and lying. I and many of my gay friends do have a personal theory concerned with the 'why.' We believe ideally people should be bisexual with the ability to love indiscriminantly both sexes. Perhaps we're born bisexual. Yet, most people, through environmental circumstances which cannot be controlled or listed are forced to swing one way or the other, and are not permitted to be bisexual. Some are completely gay or straight; some are predominantly gay or straight; and some remain bisexual."

Question sixty-seven read: If there is anything which you would like to add which you think may aid me in the completion of this study, please feel free to comment on this page. Following are some of the more meaningful responses.

Male Responses

1. "I am just coming out into gay life as a total existence. While not a militant, I will defend my right to my own sexual orientation to the very end. I hate classifications such as gay, straight, etc. It would be nice if people could relate to people as people first, and sexually second. Tell me it wouldn't be nice if gaiety was looked upon in the same light as left-handedness—a minority—but equally justified to life. I am an okay person and so is everyone else."

2. "Gay is just a lifestyle, a feeling, a preference for homosexual encounters. I really don't see the need for delving into the whys of gay life. Are we born gay? Are we gay by environment or upbringing? You could ask the same questions of a heterosexual man. Why does he prefer large or small breasts? Was he born this way? Homosexuality is, of course, perfectly natural to a homosexual. Heterosexuality is, of course, perfectly natural to a heterosexual ... who cares? Or better yet, why would anyone care? I am happy to report that in my many 'straight' platonic relationships, I make it a point of expressing the fact that I am gay—not to just anyone, but only if I feel a friendship forming. To this day, I have not lost a friend, male or female, because of this."

3. "Since your thesis is concerned with the self-perception of the homosexual, I would hope that you have the opportunity of meeting with and discussing many of the questions personally with both gay singles and couples who have established a viable relationship. Since these were multiple choice questions, I found myself wanting to expand or comment on them when the responses I had to choose were not exactly right as far as I was concerned. I think this would demonstrate to you (at least as far as my experience is concerned) that although gays seem more aware of themselves that many or most of their hopes and aspirations are the same as most heterosexuals."

4. "Just keep in mind that you have undertaken a very large task and it is going to take all of your mental abilities to judge and weigh the returning questionnaires with a completely open mind. At any rate, good luck and thanks to someone trying to understand."

5. "I would be curious to know whether you are straight or gay, and whether this would influence your questions—which would obviously influence the outcome."

6. "I can only add that I am not unhappy in my life as a homosexual. I do hope that in the future we will be better understood and I believe the time will come when we will not have to 'closet' ourselves as some of us do for fear of losing jobs, etc."

Female Responses

1. "I have been active in 'the life' for four years. I have known 2 lovers, one, the first, for two months, the other for the past three years. Together, we have moved from a 3-room furnished apartment to a 6-room house. Neither of us are (sic) wealthy. We are on a tight budget. We have come a long way, materially and emotionally—each of us growing for and toward the other. Perhaps the only regret I have is that I am not able to share my happiness with neighbors or family or co-workers. It's difficult to live in two worlds, both very similar, but at the same time, never the same."

2. "My only heartache is that we live a life hidden from our family because my lover's family would never accept her situation and therefore she lives at home with them. I only wish we could share a home together as married couples or as other gay people do. This situation often makes us tell many lies in order to not hurt them, therefore we do suffer many lonely nights. We are also annoyed many times at the way many people treat and think so badly about gay people. I wish we could hold hands in the street and be accepted at some of the finest places instead of just hiding our feelings in public and only showing tender feelings in a hide-away or amongst our friends."

3. "May I make a quote from a famous contemporary poet, Rod McKuen: 'It doesn't matter who or what you

love, but that you love.' I believe also that there might be some sort of physiological connection with homosexuality. Although psychiatrists have come a long way in dealing with this deviation and consider it somewhat a product of environment, this is something they could probably never prove—mostly because it is so controversial. Who is to say that it could be passed on in our chromosomes. They will probably never know."

4. "I truly feel that if people actually knew how many homosexuals there are and that there are so many of them that are good people—some teachers, some lawyers, nurses, doctors, business owners, professional business people—that they could accept them much better instead of judging them all by the minority of so-called perverts, closet queens or whatever. There are some that are sick that prey on children and others (males) that dress as women and females that dress as men, but the majority of the people I know are decent upstanding citizens who dress and act like any other person except in the privacy of their own homes. Even straight people enjoy the privacy of their own homes and like most gay people do not discuss what goes on there when the doors are closed at night.

I was in attendance this past weekend at a gathering of homosexuals. I would say approximately 150 people were there. I talked to most all of them at one time or another. A lot of them I knew—some I didn't. But out of the 150 I would say that 115 of them were professional people—teachers that teach your children, nurses that take care of you when you're sick, doctors that you call in the middle of the night, computer programmers that really keep this country running, artists who express beauty on a canvas which we all enjoy, store owners which you buy from every day, lawyers that you go to for advice. Most of them own their own homes, cars and possibly might be your next door neighbor and you like them when you meet them and respect them for the work they do and for the clean way they live—but if you actually knew what went on in their homes when they close their doors at night, would you still respect them? If you never suspected they were homosexuals you would continue to respect them, but the minute someone finds out you might be a homosexual you're no longer that nice person who lived next door and was so good and clean—you're labeled a homosexual, pervert, whatever, and you're never to be trusted again. I've seen this happen to so many people. I work with people every day—some of them my closest friends—they visit me at home, we go out for drinks and they love me—yet if a conversation ever turns to a topic about gay people they all say 'I couldn't tolerate being around somebody like that.' The point I'm trying to make just came to a head. So many people just don't know homosexuality from a good viewpoint. All they know is what they read in the newspapers about sex crimes from a few sick people—maybe a lot of them are sick, but the majority are decent, clean, upstanding people. Someday I hope people can look for good in people along with the bad in both straight and gay people. I also have a child and pray to God that no one that is sick would ever bother my child, but out of all the gay people I know I would trust him to their care before I would some straight people I know."

5. "I would like to explain a few of my answers in your questionnaire. I only feel guilty when I think of how much it would hurt my parents if they knew of my sexual preference. For their hurt I would naturally feel guilty. Also, I only feel uncomfortable around my parents when they start harrassing me, and around straight men who start harrassing me. Now, if I had a younger brother or sister and if they were experimenting seriously with gay life, my answer is that a person with such a choice (gay or straight) should stay straight to live happily within our society." (Emphasis is respondent's.)

6. "I've been living with my lover for three years now. I'm a one person person. We have a deep, loving, lasting relationship. We've come from a small 3 room apartment to a 6 1/2 room Cape Cod house, fully furnished. We have a bond between us that's stronger than any marriage certificate or license. We have our problems but so don't (sic) married people. We're far happier than any straight, married people could ever hope to be. I only regret that we can't share our happy lives with others, especially our families."

7. "Regarding sexual activity without loving a person: I could never have sexual activity with a person I didn't care for, yet I would not necessarily have to love (be in love with) the person if I was (sic) between lovers or unsettled in a relationship. Regarding younger brother or sister experimenting with gay life: I would talk seriously with him and only advise that he weigh all aspects before making a final decision, but most of all—as you must realize—all situations are reversable (sic) and therefore no decision must be forever should you find its not for you."

THE TENNESSEE SELF-CONCEPT SCALE

The Tennessee Self-Concept Scale (TSCS) contains several variables, some of which recorded how the respondents felt about themselves and some of which recorded whether the respondents answered the self-concept items accurately. Other variables in the TSCS indicated whether the respondents manifested deviance when compared to a control group used by the author of the Scale when he devised his instrument. The manual for the TSCS is located at Appendix C and the reader is invited to peruse this manual to obtain a clear idea of the nature and use of the TSCS. All descriptions of variables are taken from the manual.

Table 21 presents data on how the respondents perceived themselves as measured by their responses to 5 variables related to the self. The first such variable is

physical self where the respondents presented their view of their bodies, their state of health, their physical appearance, skills, and sexuality. Of the 26 male respondents in the sample, 2 (8 per cent) manifested deviance above the norm; 11 (42 per cent) showed deviance below the norm; and 13 (50 per cent) indicated no deviance with regard to how they viewed the physical self. For the 27 females, 3 (11 per cent) indicated deviance above the norm; 6 (22 per cent) showed deviance below the norm; and 18 (67 per cent) indicated no deviance. In sum, 5 of the 53 total respondents (9 per cent) showed deviance above the norm; 17 (33 per cent) indicated deviance below the norm; and 31 (58 per cent) showed no deviance. These results compare favorably with the results from the questionnaire since most of the respondents in both devices viewed themselves in a good light.

The next variable in Table 21 is moral-ethical self which describes the self from a moral-ethical frame of reference: moral worth, relationship to God, feelings of being a "good" or a "bad" person, and satisfaction with one's religion or lack of it. Of the 26 males, 2 (8 per cent) showed deviance above the norm; 3 (12 per cent) indicated deviance below the norm; and 21 (80 per cent) manifested no deviance with regard to this variable. Of the 27 females, 4 (15 per cent) indicated deviance above the norm; 5 (18 per cent) showed deviance below the norm; and 18 (67 per cent) showed no deviance. In all, 6 of the 53 total respondents (11 per cent) indicated deviance above the norm for moral-ethical self; 8 (15 per cent) indicated deviance below the norm; and 39 (74 per cent) manifested no deviance.

TABLE 21

TSCS Ratings by Sex

Sex	How Individual Perceives Self											
	Physical Self			Moral-Ethical Self			Personal Self					
	Deviance ↑ Norm	Deviance ↓ Norm	Non Deviant	Deviance ↑ Norm	Deviance ↓ Norm	Non Deviant	Deviance ↑ Norm	Deviance ↓ Norm	Non Deviant	Deviance ↑ Norm	Deviance ↓ Norm	Non Deviant
	n %	n %	n %	n %	n %	n %	n %	n %	n %	n %	n %	n %
Male	2 8	11 42	13 50	2 8	3 12	21 80	3 12	3 12	20 76			
Row Sub Total			26 100			26 100			26 100			
Female	3 11	6 22	18 67	4 15	5 18	18 67	5 18	3 11	19 71			
Row Sub Total			27 100			27 100			27 100			
Column Sub Total	5 9	17 33	31 58	6 11	8 15	39 74	8 15	6 11	39 74			
Totals			53 100			53 100			53 100			

P ≥ .05 2 df P ≥ .05 2 df P ≥ .05 2 df

TABLE 21--Continued

Sex	Fertile Self			Social Self		
	Deviance ↑ Norm	Deviance ↓ Norm	Non Deviant	Deviance ↑ Norm	Deviance ↓ Norm	Non Deviant
	n %	n %	n %	n %	n %	n %
Male	2 8	7 27	17 65	3 12	7 27	16 61
Row Sub Total			26 100			26 100
Female	0 0	8 29	19 71	3 11	2 8	22 81
Row Sub Total			27 100			27 100
Column Sub Total	2 4	15 28	36 68	6 11	9 17	38 72
Totals			53 100			53 100

P ≥ .05 2 df P ≥ .05 2 df

Next is presented the variable "personal self." This variable reflects the respondent's sense of personal worth, his feeling of adequacy as a person and his evaluation of his personality apart from his body or his relationships to others. Three of the 26 males (12 per cent) showed deviance above the norm concerning this variable; 3 (12 per cent) showed deviance below the norm; and 20 (76 per cent) showed no deviance. Five of the 27 females (18 per cent) showed deviance above the norm, while 3 (11 per cent) showed deviance below the norm, and 19 (71 per cent) indicated no deviance. Overall, then, 8 (15 per cent) of the 53 respondents manifested deviance above the norm; 6 (11 per cent) below norm; and 39 (74 per cent) indicated no deviance concerning their views of the personal self.

Family self is the next variable measured. This variable reflects the respondent's feelings of adequacy, worth, and value as a family member. It refers to the respondent's perception of self in reference to his closest and most immediate circle of associates. With regard to this variable, 2 (8 per cent) of the males scored in the deviant range above the norm; 7 (27 per cent) scored in the deviant range below the norm; and 17 (65 per cent) scored as non-deviant. None of the females indicated deviance above the norm; 8 (29 per cent) showed deviance below the norm; and 19 (71 per cent) showed no deviance. In all, 2 of the 53 total respondents in the sample (4 per cent) showed deviance above the norm; 15 (28 per cent) showed deviance below the norm; and 36 (68 per cent) indicated no deviance. The results on this variable also compare favorably with the results from the questionnaire concerning the respondents and their families. In both instruments most of the respondents viewed their familial relationships favorably.

The final variable to be discussed in Table 21 is social self. This is another "self as perceived in relation to others" category, but it pertains to "others" in a more general way. It reflects the respondents' sense of adequacy and worth in his social interaction with other people in general. Three of the 26 males (12 per cent) manifested deviance above the norm in reference to this variable, while 7 (27 per cent) showed deviance below the norm, and 16 (61 per cent) indicated no deviance. Of the 27 females, 3 (11 per cent) indicated deviance above the norm; 2 (8 per cent) below it; and 22 (81 per cent) manifested no deviance. In total, 6 of the 53 total respondents (11 per cent) indicated deviance above the norm regarding social self; 9 (17 per cent) below it; and 38 (72 per cent) manifested no deviance. Once again, these results compare favorably with those from the questionnaire since most of the respondents on both instruments related well to others. A point of interest is that in both instruments, the males indicated more difficulty than the females with regard to this and associated variables. It should be noted also that the chi squares run on these variables in Table 21 did not approach significance at the .05 level. The disparity between observed and expected frequencies for the responses to these variables was of no import.

In continuation of the discussion of self-perception, Table 22 presents a graphic display of data related to the self-perception of the respondents in terms of 3 additonal

variables: identity, self-satisfaction, and behavior. The first variable to be discussed is identity which describes what the respondent is as he sees himself. Of the 27 males in the sample, none registered deviance above the norm; 6 (23 per cent) showed deviance below the norm; and 20 (77 per cent) showed no deviance with respect to his identity. For the females, 1 (4 per cent) showed deviance above the norm; 8 (29 per cent) below it; and 18 (67 per cent) manifested no deviance. Overall, 1 of the 53 total respondents indicated deviance above the norm; 14 (26 per cent) registered deviance below the norm; and 38 (72 per cent) registered no deviance in regard to identity. The chi square run on this variable did not approach significance at the .05 level.

TABLE 22

Self-Perception by Sex as Measured by TSCS

Sex	Self-Perception in Terms of:														
	Identity						Self-Satisfaction						Behavior					
	What He Is						How Accepts Self						How He Acts					
	Deviance ↑ Norm		Deviance ↓ Norm		Non Deviant		Deviance ↑ Norm		Deviance ↓ Norm		Non Deviant		Deviance ↑ Norm		Deviance ↓ Norm		Non Deviant	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Male	0	0	6	23	20	77	3	12	4	15	19	73	1	4	13	50	12	46
Row Sub Total					26	100					26	100					26	100
Female	1	4	8	29	18	67	9	33	3	11	15	56	0	0	6	22	21	78
Row Sub Total					27	100					27	100					27	100
Column Sub Total	1	2	14	26	38	72	12	23	7	13	34	64	1	2	19	36	33	62
Totals					53	100					53	100					53	100
	$P > .05$ 2 df						$P > .05$ 2 df						$P < .05$ 2 df					

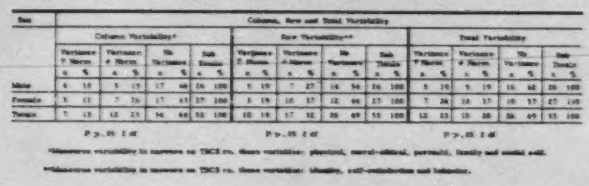
The second variable in Table 22 is self-satisfaction which reflects the level of self-acceptance of the respondent. Concerning this variable, 3 of the 26 males (12 per cent) showed deviance above the norm; 4 (15 per cent) below the norm; and 19 (73 per cent) showed no deviance. Of the 27 females, 9 (33 per cent) indicated deviance above the norm; 3 (11 per cent) below it; and 15 (56 per cent) showed no deviance. In total, then, 12 of the 53 respondents (23 per cent) showed deviance above the norm with regard to the variable of self-satisfaction; 7 of the 53 (13 per cent) showed deviance below the norm; and 34 (64 per cent) indicated no deviance. Although the chi square on this variable did not indicate significance, the disparity between some of the observed and expected frequencies may be of interest. For the males, the observed frequency of 3 for deviance above the norm had an expected frequency of 5.9. This indicated that more men than was the case could be expected to be deviant above the norm, i.e., possess an overdeveloped sense of self-satisfaction. The other interesting disparity was the female response to the same issue. The observed frequency of 9 for deviance above the norm had an expected frequency of 6.1, indicating that fewer women might be expected to be in this category. These data are consistent with findings from the questionnaire which indicated that more women than men in the sample seem to be better adjusted to their deviance.

The third and final variable in Table 22 to be discussed is that of behavior. This variable measures the respondent's perception of the way he functions. Of the 26 men, 1 (4 per cent) was deviant above the norm; 13 (50 per cent) were deviant below the norm; and 12 (46 per cent) indicated no deviance. For the women, none indicated deviance above the norm; 6 (22 per cent) showed deviance below it; and 21 (78 per cent) indicated no deviance. Overall, 1 of the 53 total respondents (2 per cent) showed deviance above the norm; 19 (36 per cent) indicated deviance below the norm; and 33 (62 per cent) indicated no deviance. The chi square on this variable did approach significance at the .05 level, indicating a relevant relationship between the respondent by sexual category and how he perceives his behavior. The disparity between some of the observed and expected frequencies bears reporting. The observed frequency of 13 for men deviant below the norm had an expected frequency of 9.3, and the observed frequency of 12 for non-deviant men had an expected frequency of 16.2. For the women the observed frequency of 6 for deviance below the norm had an expected frequency of 9.7, and the observed frequency of 21 for non-deviance had an expected frequency of 16.8. These data indicate again that less men could be expected to be deviant below the norm, and more women could be expected to be so deviant. Concerning non-deviance, more men and fewer women could have been expected in this category. Once again, these data compare favorably with those derived from the questionnaire since the women in the sample seem to have a less deviant outlook on their own behavior than do the men.

Having discussed above how the respondents feel about—or rate themselves on—several variables, it now becomes of interest to observe whether or not the respondents were truthful and accurate in their self-appraisals. Table 23 displays data which show the amount of variability in the respondents' view of themselves. This variability factor provides a simple measure of the amount of inconsistency from one area of self-perception to another. High scores mean that the respondent is quite variable in this respect, while low scores indicate low variability which may even approach rigidity if extremely low (below the first percentile). Of the 26 men in the sample, 4 (15 per cent) indicated variance above the norm for the physical, moral-ethical, personal, family, and social self variables. Five (19 per cent) showed variance below the norm for these variables, and 17 (66 per cent) indicated no variance. For the females, 3 of the 27 (11 per cent) showed variance above the norm; 7 (26 per cent) below it; and 17 (63 per cent) showed no variance. In total, then, 7 of the 53 respondents (13 per cent) indicated variance above the norm; 12 (23 per cent) indicated variance below the norm; and 34 (64 per cent) indicated no variance. The chi square run on this variable did not approach significance at the .05 level. The data would seem to indicate that although 34 per cent of the males and 36 per cent of the females showed variability, the majority of respondents did not indicate variance in their views of themselves concerning the variables under discussion.

TABLE 23

TSCS Variability Factors in Respondents' Self-Concept Rating by Sex



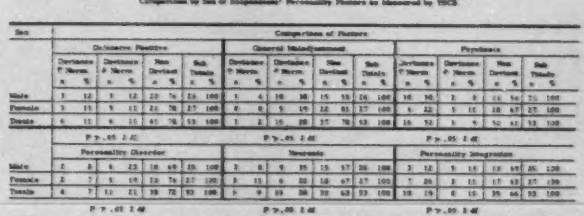
The next variability measure includes the identity, self-satisfaction and behavior variables. Five of the 26 males (19 per cent) showed variance above the norm; 7 (27 per cent) below the norm, and 14 (54 per cent) indicated no variance. Of the 27 females in the sample, 5 (19 per cent) manifested variance above the norm in regard to these variables; 10 (37 per cent) showed variance below the norm; and 12 (44 per cent) showed no variance. In sum, 10 of the 53 respondents (19 per cent) manifested variance above the norm; 17 (32 per cent) below the norm; and 26 (49 per cent) demonstrated no variance. The chi square on these statistics did not approach significance at the .05 level. However, the data indicated that the respondents in the sample showed more variance regarding the identity, self-satisfaction and behavior variables than they did in the other variables concerning self-concept.

The final set of statistics to be discussed in Table 23 involves the total variability factor of the respondents. These figures represent the sum variability related to all of the variables discussed above. High scores in the total variability category mean that the respondent's self-concept is so variable from one area to another as to reflect little unity or integration. High scoring persons tend to compartmentalize certain areas of self and view these areas quite apart from the remainder of self. Well integrated people generally score below the mean on these scores, but above the first percentile. Of the 26 males, 5 (19 per cent) showed total variability above the norm; 5 (19 per cent) below it; and 17 (62 per cent) indicated no variance. For the females, 7 (26 per cent) showed variance above the norm; 10 (37 per cent) below it; and 10 (37 per cent) indicated no variance. In all, 12 of the 53 respondents (23 per cent) indicated variance below the norm; 15 (28 per cent) fell above the norm; and 26 (49 per cent) showed no variance in the total variability category. The chi square on this variable (total variability) did not approach significance at the .05 level; however, the figures are interesting on their face. More females than males manifested variance both above and below the norm, and more males indicated no variance. This might indicate that perhaps the women in the sample are again better adjusted than the males since they may feel that they do not have to exaggerate their "good" qualities to cover for the "bad" ones. It may be noted, for example, that twice as many women than men scored with variance below the norm which is in keeping with the finding by the author of the TSCS that well integrated persons usually score higher in this category. Also, the women may feel that their homosexuality or defiance is not much of a threat to their femininity, while the men may feel that their deviance is more of a threat to their masculinity, both in their own eyes and in the eyes of others.

Table 24 depicts some data regarding 6 personality factors of the respondents. These factors comprise that portion of the TSCS known as the Empirical Scales and consist of the following items: defensive positive, general maladjustment, psychosis, personality disorders, neurosis, and personality integration. The defensive positive factor is a subtle measure of defensiveness and stems from a basic hypothesis of self theory: that individuals with established psychiatric difficulties do have negative self-concepts at some level of awareness, regardless of how positively they describe themselves on an instrument such as the TSCS. The defensive positive factor has significance at both extremes. A high score indicates a positive self-description stemming from defensive distortion. A notably low score means that the person is lacking in the usual defenses for maintaining even minimal self-esteem. Regarding the sample in this study relevant to the defensive positive factor, 3 of the 26 males (12 per cent) registered deviance above the norm; 3 (12 per cent) showed deviance below the norm; and 20 (76 per cent) showed non-deviance. Of the 27 females, 3 (11 per cent) showed deviance above the norm; 3 (11 per cent) below it; and 21 (78 per cent) registered no deviance. Overall for this factor, 6 of the 53 respondents (11 per cent) manifested deviance above the norm; 6 (11 per cent) below it; and 41 (78 per cent) registered no deviance. The chi square on this variable did not approach significance at the .05 level.

TABLE 24

Comparisons by Sex of Respondents' Personality Factors as Measured by TSCS



The general maladjustment factor serves as a general index of adjustment-maladjustment, but provides no clues as to the nature of the pathology. Of the 26 males in the sample, 1 (4 per cent) indicated deviance above the norm; 10 (38 per cent) indicated deviance below the norm; and 15 (58 per cent) manifested no deviance concerning this factor. For the females, none of the 27 registered deviance above the norm; 5 (19 per cent) showed deviance below it; and 22 (81 per cent) indicated no deviance. In sum, 1 of the 53 respondents (2 per cent) registered deviance above the norm; 15 (28 per cent) scored deviance below the norm; and 37 (70 per cent) manifested no deviance regarding the general maladjustment factor. These data seem to indicate once again that the women in the sample are better adjusted in their deviance than are the men.

The psychosis factor in Table 24 is based on 23 items which best differentiate psychotic patients from other groups, according to the author of the TSCS. With regard to the sample in this study, 10 of the 26 males (38 per cent) manifested deviance above the norm relating to the psychosis factor; 2 (8 per cent) registered below the norm; and 14 (54 per cent) scored non-deviant. For the females in the sample, 6 (22 per cent) registered deviance above the norm, while 3 (11 per cent) manifested deviance below the norm, and 18 (67 per cent) indicated no deviance in regard to this factor. In all, 16 of the 53 respondents (30 per cent) registered deviance above the norm; 5 (9 per cent) below it; and 32 (61 per cent) showed no deviance. These figures indicate even once again that more men than women in the sample have personality problems possibly as a result of their homosexuality. These personality problems may even be connected with the cause of the respondents' deviance, although no such conclusion can be drawn from the data gathered in this study. The chi square run on this factor did not approach significance at the .05 level.

The next factor from Table 24 to be discussed is personality disorder. This factor pertains to people with basic personality defects and weaknesses in contrast to psychotic states or the various neurotic reactions, according to the author of the TSCS. For the males in the sample, 2 of the 26 (8 per cent) showed deviance above the norm; 6 (28 per cent) indicated deviance below the norm; and 18 (69 per cent) manifested no deviance concerning the personality disorder factor. Of the 27 females, 2 (7 per cent) showed deviance above the norm; 5 (19 per cent) below it; and 20 (74 per cent) manifested no deviance. In total, 4 of the 53 respondents in the sample (7 per cent) showed deviance above the norm; 11 (21 per cent) below it; and 38 (72 per cent) of the sample manifested no deviance. Although the chi square on this factor was not significant at the .05 level, the women did seem to fare better in this category than the men. This follows the pattern established by the data from the other tables.

The next factor in Table 24 is neurosis. Of the 26 males, 2 (8 per cent) indicated deviance above the norm, while 9 (35 per cent) showed deviance below the norm, and 15 (57 per cent) registered no deviance. Three of the 27 females (11 per cent) showed deviance above the norm; 6 (22 per cent) below it; and 18 (67 per cent) registered no deviance. For the entire sample, then, 5 of the 53 (9 per cent) showed deviance above the norm; 15 (28 per cent) below it; and 33 (63 per cent) scored non-deviant. Although the difference between the men and the women in the sample regarding this factor is not substantial, the figures do show a continuation of the pattern. More women than men seem to be non-neurotic personalities. The chi square on this factor failed to approach significance at the .05 level.

The final personality factor in Table 24 to be discussed is that of personality integration which differentiates by test items this factor from the other factors. It measures level of adjustment or degree of personality integration. Three of the 26 males in the sample (12 per cent) indicated deviance above the norm regarding this factor; 5 (19 per cent) indicated deviance below the norm; and 18 (69 per cent) showed no deviance. Of the 27 women, 7 (26 per cent) showed deviance above the norm; 3 (11 per cent) below it; and 17 (63 per cent) manifested no deviance in the personality integration category. In total, 10 of the 53 respondents (19 per cent) showed deviance above the norm; 8 (15 per cent) indicated deviance below the norm; and 35 (66 per cent) manifested no deviance. An analysis of these figures indicates that the trend or pattern which had been observed vis a vis women being better adjusted overall has been broken. With regard to personality integration, slightly more men than women appear to have accomplished such integration with more ease. The chi square run on this factor did not reach significance at the .05 level.

The following discussion is concerned with a comparison of TSCS results on self-criticism, total conflict and total positive attitude of the respondents. Table 25 is a graphic display of these data. The first variable considered is self-criticism which was determined in the TSCS by responses to mildly derogatory statements that most people admit as being true for them. Individuals who deny most of these statements most often are being defensive and making a deliberate effort to present a favorable picture of themselves. High scores generally indicate a normal, healthy openness and capacity for self-criticism. Low scores indicate defensiveness. Of the 26 males in this study, 1 (4 per cent) indicated deviance above the norm regarding this variable; 1 (4 per cent) below it; and 24 (92 per cent) indicated no deviance. Five of the 27 females (19 per cent) indicated deviance above the norm; 3 (11 per cent) indicated deviance below it; and 19 (70 per cent) scored non-deviant. Overall, 6 of the 53 respondents in the sample (11 per cent) manifested deviance above the norm regarding the self-criticism variable; 4 (8 per cent) scored below it; and 43 (81 per cent) indicated no deviance. For the second time on a TSCS variable, the women scored more heavily in the deviant range than did the men. By and large, however, the majority of both men and women in the sample scored in the non-deviant range. The chi square on this variable did not indicate significance at the .05 level.

TABLE 25

Comparison of TSCS Results on Self-Criticism, Total Conflict and Total Positive Attitude in Sex

Sex	Personality Variables From TSCS															
	Self-Criticism				Total Conflict				Total Positive Attitude							
	Deviance + Norm	Deviance − Norm	Non Deviant	Sub Totals	Deviance + Norm	Deviance − Norm	Non Deviant	Sub Totals	Deviance + Norm	Deviance − Norm	Non Deviant	Sub Totals				
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Male	1	4	1	4	24	92	26	100	6	23	6	23	14	54	26	100	1	4	7	27	18	69	26	100
Female	5	19	3	11	19	70	27	100	3	11	3	11	21	78	27	100	4	15	3	11	20	74	27	100
Totals	6	11	4	8	43	81	53	100	9	17	9	17	35	66	53	100	5	9	10	19	38	72	53	100
	$P > .05$ 1 df				$P > .05$ 1 df				$P > .05$ 1 df							

The second item in Table 25 is the total conflict variable. The conflict scores are reflections of conflicting responses to positive and negative items within the same area of perception, e.g., social-self or behavior or physical self. These scores are not to be confused with the

variability scores, which reflect fluctuations from one area of self-perception to another. High scores for this variable indicate confusion, contradiction, and general conflict in self-perception. Low scores have the opposite interpretation. Disturbed people generally score high on this variable, but some also have deviantly low scores depending on the nature and degree of their disorder. Germane to the sample in this study, 6 of the 26 males (23 per cent) scored in the deviant range above the norm; 6 (23 per cent) below it; and 14 (54 per cent) scored non-deviant. Three of the 27 females (11 per cent) indicated deviance above the norm; 3 (11 per cent) below it; and 21 (78 per cent) indicated no deviance. In total, 9 of the 53 respondents (17 per cent) manifested deviance above the norm; 9 (17 per cent) showed deviance below the norm;; and 35 (66 per cent) showed no deviance. The trend established earlier indicating that females in the sample are better adjusted than the males is borne out according to the data on this variable since twice as many men than women showed deviance both above and below the norm. In additon, it is interesting to note that only 66 per cent of the total sample indicated no deviance. While 66 per cent is a majority, it is a relatively small one when compared to results in the preceding tables. The chi square on this variable did not approach significance at the .05 level.

The final variable to be considered in Table 25 is the total positive attitude of the respondents. This variable reflects the overall level of self-esteem. Persons with high scores tend to like themselves, feel that they are persons of value and worth, have confidence in themselves, and act accordingly. People with low scores are doubtful about their own worth; see themselves as undesirable; often feel anxious, depressed, and unhappy; and have little faith or confidence in themselves. Of the 26 men in the sample, 1 (4 per cent) showed deviance above the norm; 7 (27 per cent) indicated deviance below the norm; and 18 (69 per cent) indicated no deviance. Four of the 27 women (15 per cent) showed deviance above the norm; 3 (11 per cent) below it; and 20 (74 per cent) showed no deviance. In sum, 5 of the 53 respondents (9 per cent) manifested deviance above the norm; 10 (19 per cent) below it; and 38 (72 per cent) indicated no deviance. As can be seen from these data, the pattern indicating better adjustment for the women in the sample as opposed to the men has been resumed. Better than twice as many men scored in the deviant range below the norm indicating a lack of self-esteem. The chi square run on this variable was not significant at the .05 level and the disparity between observed and expected frequencies was of no import.

The final set of data to be discussed in this study concerns the number of deviant signs exhibited by the respondents as measured by the TSCS. (See Table 26.) This variable is a count of the number of deviant features on all other scores in the TSCS. This score (number of deviant signs score) is based upon the theoretical position of Berg (1957) as stated in his "deviation hypothesis." This hypothesis states that individuals who deviate sharply from the norm in minor behaviors are likely to be deviant in more major aspects of behavior. The findings with the number of deviant signs score substantiate this hypothesis. Disturbed persons often obtain extreme scores on either end of the continuum. According to the author of the TSCS, the number of deviant signs score is the Scale's best index of psychological disturbance, and that this score alone identifies deviant individuals with about 80 per cent accuracy. Thus, of the 26 males in the sample, 20 (76 per cent) scored above the mean; 3 (12 per cent) scored below the mean; 3 (12 per cent) scored at the mean. For the females in the sample, 15 (55 per cent) scored above the mean; 8 (30 per cent) below it; and 4 (15 per cent) scored at the mean. Overall, 35 of the 53 respondents (66 per cent) scored above the mean regarding this variable; 11 (21 per cent) scored below the mean; and 7 (13 per cent) scored at the mean. Once again the data indicate that the women in the sample manifest less deviance than the men; however, it is of import to note that 35 of the total 53 respondents (66 per cent) scored deviant above the mean, indicating that most of the sample suffer disturbance in deviance to a substantial degree.

TABLE 26

Number of Deviant Signs by Sex as Measured by TSCS*

Sex	Number of Deviant Signs							
	No. of Scores Above Mean		No. of Scores Below Mean		No. of Scores At Mean		Sub Totals	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Male	20	76	3	12	3	12	26	100
Female	15	55	8	30	4	15	27	100
Totals	35	66	11	21	7	13	53	100

Note: 68% of non-deviants scored below mean when the mean was established by author of TSCS.

P >.05 2 df

In the incipient stages of this study, four basic questions and six hypotheses were posed to guide the direction of the study and to ascertain whether the data would substantiate the hypotheses. Having discussed the data gathered by means of the questionnaire and the TSCS, it is left to determine whether the basic questions were answered by the data and whether the hypotheses were substantiated. The following discussion centers about these two points.

The first basic question asked was: What effect have the variables being observed had on the directing of a person to a homosexual lifestyle? The data gathered through work on this study failed to indicate that the variables being observed had any bearing on the directing of a person to a homosexual lifestyle. Some of the respondents indicated that a mother-dominant household during their formative years may have had an impact; however, many of the respondents were brought up strongly in the family religion, thus lack of religious and moral direction was not a significant factor. In addition, many of the respondents felt that they were born homosexual or with strong

homosexual leanings, thus effectively negating the effects of other directing influences in their lives. Their high school extracurricular activities ran the gamut within the range provided in the questionnaire. Drama and sports for men and sports for women seemed to be the activities of choice for the respondents and this bears out the popular notion of interest in drama and the arts for homosexual men and sports for Lesbians. Since many of the respondents indicated that they had their first homosexual contact prior to age twenty, it is difficult—if not impossible—to deduce whether the act(s) came first or the interest in drama and sports came first.

The second question asked was: Just how deviant do the subjects of this study feel in a predominantly heterosexual society? Some of the respondents expressed doubt that this is in fact a predominantly heterosexual society, but it seems from the data that most respondents take this premise as given. Their responses on the questionnaire indicate that many of the respondents do feel uncomfortable at some time or other when dealing with straight society. Furthermore, more men than women had difficulty adjusting to their homosexuality vis a vis heterosexual society and their own views of themselves. This was borne out by the results of the TSCS also. Some of the respondents may deny vociferously that they feel deviant, but measurement factors indicate that many of them do.

The third question asked: Do these deviants wish that they were not deviant, or are they adjusted to their deviance? More men than women in the sample indicated that they—at one time or another—wished that they were not homosexual. Moreover, a pattern began to emerge in the study which indicated strongly that the women were much better adjusted in their deviance than the men. This finding may be accounted for partially by noting that Lesbians in our society enjoy a lower profile than do male homosexuals; thus, the women come under less pressure than do the men.

The final question posed was: Do these persons visualize their deviant commitment as irreversible? As noted above, many of the respondents viewed themselves as being born homosexual. This being their conviction, then they have no control over their destiny vis a vis their sexual proclivities. Furthermore, many of the respondents indicated in their written resonses that they prefer the gay life to the straight life, although many of them had not experienced heterosexual contact, and some of those who did encountered unsatisfactory relationships which reinforced their homosexuality. By and large, then, the gays in this sample see their homosexuality as a preference and it may or may not be irreversible. An equal number of men and women do think that it is possible for them to have sexual intercourse with members of the opposite sex.

The first hypothesis generated by the contemplation of this study was that the majority of the repsondents would view themselves as being born homosexual—that they had no control over their eventual manifestation of deviance. This would provide them with a simple, nonrefutable rationalization for their deviance. This hypothesis was substantiated in part since 21 of the 26 males in the sample viewed themselves as being born gay; however, 12 of the 27 females felt that they were born gay, and 15 of the 27 felt that their homosexuality was a conscious psychological choice on their parts.

The second hypothesis was that more women than men would desire long-lasting love relationships in homosexual encounters. This would be in keeping with the popular view within normal society. This hypothesis was verified by the data, although more men than might be expected also desired long-lasting relationships (see Table 17).

The third hypothesis was that more women than men have had enduring homosexual love relationships. This also would be in keeping with the popular view within normal society. This hypothesis was also borne out by the data, but the disparity was not what might have been expected. The average longest-lasting homosexual love relationship for the men was forty months, whereas for the women it was forty-nine months.

The fourth hypothesis stated that more men than women are less well adjusted in their deviance since Lesbians enjoy a lower profile than do male homosexuals; thus, more men than women are anxious about maintaining their secret deviance. This hypothesis was substantiated strongly by the data in the study.

The fifth hypothesis stated that more men than women in the sample entered a deviant lifestyle at an earlier age. This would be in keeping with the traditional concept that men are more aggressive sexually than women. This hypothesis was also substantiated by the data. Twelve of the men in the sample perceived themselves to be exclusively gay prior to age twenty, whereas half that number of women made such a determination so early in their lives. Thus, it would seem—at least for this sample—that, in the homosexual realm as well as the heterosexual ones, the males are more sexually aggressive than the women.

The final hypothesis generated by contemplation of this study stated that more women than men in the sample believe in sexual fidelity between gay lovers. This is popularly thought to be true in straight society. Men also have more access to partners via bars and the like since women in our society—gay or straight—seldom frequent bars on their own. The data substantiated this hypothesis also, since seventeen of the male respondents believed in such sexual fidelity, but twenty-four of the women did. Regarding frequenting of gay bars, twenty-three of the men indicated that they do, but eighteen of the women said that they do. In terms of per cent, eighty-eight per cent of the males frequent gay bars, but only sixty-seven per cent of the women do.

The following chapter of this study will be concerned with summarizing some of the pertinent data presented heretofore, to drawing conclusions, and to recommending questions for further study.

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

SUMMARY

At the outset of this study it was stated that there were many conflicting opinions regarding the homosexual as deviant, both professional opinions and the generally uninformed popular opinions and misconceptions. Thus, it was the purpose of this study to view how the homosexual has been thought of in Western society from early times to some contemporary views, and to ascertain from a sample of American homosexuals how they feel about themselves, their deviance and the reaction of the dominant society to their deviance.

There were four basic questions posed to guide this study. The first was ascertain what effect the variables being observed had on the directing of a person to a homosexual lifestyle. The second asked just how deviant the subjects of this study felt in a predominantly heterosexual society. The third question dealt with whether the deviants in the study wish that they were not deviant or were they adjusted to their deviance. The fourth and final question was whether or not the persons in the sample visualized their deviant commitment as irreversible.

In addition to the four basic questions, six hypotheses were generated by the contemplation of this study. Those hypotheses were:

(1) The vast majority of the respondents will view themselves as being born homosexual—that they had no control over their eventual manifestation of deviance. This would provide them with simple, non-refutable rationalization for their deviance.

(2) That more women than men in the sample desire long-lasting love relationships in homosexual encounters. This would be in keeping with the popular view within normal society.

(3) That more men than women in the sample have had enduring homosexual love relationships. This would also be in keeping with the popular view within normal society.

(4) That more men than women in the sample are less well adjusted in their deviance. It is assumed that Lesbians enjoy a lower profile than do male homosexuals, thus more men than women are anxious about maintaining their secret deviance.

(5) That more men than women in the sample entered a deviant lifestyle at an earlier age. This would be in keeping with the traditional concept that men are more aggressive sexually than women.

(6) That more women than men in the sample believe in sexual fidelity between gay lovers. This is popularly thought to be true in straight society. Men also are thought to have more access to partners via bars and the like since women in our society—gay or straight—seldom frequent bars on their own.

Having posited the basic questions and the hypotheses, it was next discussed how the study would be accomplished. Two instruments were used to elicit the desired data from the sample. These instruments were a questionnaire devised by this researcher and the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale (TSCS). The sample was incidental rather than random since access to the respondents was possible through two primary homosexual contacts known to this researcher. These two contacts distributed the copies of the questionnaire and the TSCS which were then completed by the respondents and mailed back to this researcher.

As a facilitating background for the study, a review of pertinent literature on homosexuality was given to set the framework for the discussion to follow. Results from the questionnaire and the TSCS were then compared statistically and some conclusions were drawn from the data.

The literature review was divided into two parts: a historical review and a theoretical review. The historical review consisted of tracing homosexuality from ancient times to contemporary times. It was pointed out that sex in general has always played an important role in the life of man. Phallic religions abounded in early cultures and this gave rise to sanctioned religious homosexual rites both for males and females.

In about the eighth century B.C. the prophets of the Israelites attacked the sexual indulgences of earlier periods. Strict restraints were placed on sexual excesses and the worship of any god but Jehovah. Moses prohibited sodomy as well as other sexual diversions not leading to propagation. Thus, sexual behavior once considered sacred came to be regarded as sinful and unnatural in Israel. The Old Testament of the Bible is at least partially a record of the battle of the Hebrews against sensuous sexuality. Compared to the Old Testament, the New Testament is comparatively quiet on the subject of homosexuality; although where it is mentioned it is condemned.

In Hellenic culture homosexuality was practiced with some approbation in the upper class. For the most part it was regarded in poor light by the bulk of Greek society. In fact, although Greek nobles practiced sexual acts with other men and with boys, they also had heterosexual relations. Thus the phenomenon of Greek homosexuality

was more a case of bisexuality and even at that it was mostly limited to the noble class.

In Roman society homosexuality was practiced, but not on a large scale. Some Emperors were known to be homosexual or bisexual, but by and large the Romans were liberal in their heterosexual encounters only. With the decline of the Roman Empire and the advent of the Middle Ages, history reveals that homosexuality was practiced, but not on a visibly large scale. The rise of the Christian Church had an impact on keeping homosexuality a hidden issue since the penance was so heavy for having been found out. In fact, Lesbians were thought to be witches during this period and were burned at the stake.

With the coming of the Renaissance and the Reformation came revolutionary changes in sexual thought and conduct. Artists began to display the human body in their works and many earlier restrictions on human sexuality were swept aside in a swing to opposite extremes. This forced the Roman Church into a renewed drive for conventional morality, but there is no evidence that religious pressure diminished homosexuality during the period.

From the seventeenth century to the nineteenth century there is evidence of homosexuality in the literature, not to mention the literature of the twentieth century. Homosexuality, then, as history bears out, has been a phenomenon which has always existed in human sexuality. It was more prominent in some periods of human history, depending upon societal attitudes, mores and regulations.

Labeling theory and other theories of deviant behavior presents a contemporary view of homosexuality. Harold Garfinkel's work on status degradation ceremonies give insight into what happens to a surfaced homosexual. Merton's work with anomie theory attempts to explain why persons deviate from the norm. Lemert's concepts of primary deviation, secondary deviation and stigmatization indicates that the involvement of deviants in their deviation depends in some measure upon the labeling process and the deviants reaction to it.

Quinney and Turk discuss the nature of the origins of deviant behavior which may be criminal. They contend that deviance is created by the power structure. Howard S. Becker, a prominent labeling theorist, contends much the same thing. Erikson and Kitsuse lend credibility to this contention by their work in labeling theory. Edwin Schur maintains that negative societal labeling may account for some deviance, but that self-typing or labeling is important also since some people actively seek certain deviant roles and identities.

J. L. Simons, Freedman and Doob, and Gagnon and Simon have all made studies on deviants and their behavior, and all agree that labeling theory has a major impact on how the deviant behaves, how he views himself, and how he views his labelers. As Howard S. Becker has put it: "At the extreme, some deviants (homosexuals and drug addicts are good examples) develop fullblown ideologies explaining why they are right and why those who disapprove of and punish them are wrong...the rule breaker may feel his judges are outsiders."[158]

With specific regard to the data gathered in this study, the respondents seemed to indicate in the questionnaire a rather bitter view toward heterosexual society. Thus, it seems apparent that negative societal labeling of the homosexuals in this sample—or homosexuality generally, for that matter—has produced the reaction predicted by the labeling theorists, i.e., that deviants will react to negative societal labeling; that people will feel as deviant as others make them feel; that involvement in a deviant lifestyle (secondary deviance as it is called by Lemert) is related to negative labeling and negative societal reaction to the label. Whether or not homosexuality is deviant and to what degree it is deviant, then, according to labeling theorists, depends upon who defines what human acts are in fact to be considered deviant and how persons who perpetrate those acts are reacted to in light of the negative label. That many of the respondents experienced faulty personality integration, as judged by the results of the TSCS, further indicates the impact of negative societal labeling—of making people feel that they are outsiders. As the contemporary saying goes: "If I've got the name, I may as well have the game." The data in this study indicate that negative societal labeling does have an impact on how the label individual views himself and how he views his labelers—the dominant society.

In an attempt, then, to ascertain just how the deviants in the sample view themselves and others who are not deviant in the same way, a methodology was developed for this study. As mentioned above, the sample was taken via two homosexuals known to this researcher. The respondents were provided with a copy of the questionnaire, a copy of the TSCS and its answer sheet packet, and a self-addressed, stamped envelope in which to return the completed material to this researcher. The data received was then organized, reviewed, and analyzed. Comparisons between the males and females in the sample were made regarding certain variables. Results from the questionnaire were compared to results from the TSCS, and chi square was used when possible to determine level of confidence in the responses. Some conclusions were drawn logically when the data indicated such conclusions.

With regard to a summary of the findings in this study, it was determined that there was a statistically significant relationship between the respondents by sexual category and the following variables: (1) extracurricular high school activity; (2) origin of respondents' homosexuality; (3) whether the respondents feel that they have successfully hidden their homosexuality from most of straight society; (4) the respondents' belief that love is a necessary prerequisite for sex; (5) whether the respondents ever wish that they were not homosexual; (6) whether they feel abnormal about their gayness; (7) whether they ever desired to have the sexual organ of the opposite sex when making homosexual love; (8) whether they ever employed an artificial sexual organ of the opposite sex in homosexual love-making. All of the above listed variables were con-

tained in the questionnaire. Only one variable from the TSCS proved to be statistically significant vis a vis the sexual category of the respondents. The behavior variable (how the respondent acts) proved significant.

Speaking of the TSCS, this instrument demonstrated that with regard to most of the self-concept variables, the females seemed less anxious about their homosexuality than did the males. For example, notably more women than men held themselves in higher esteem (Table 22); notably more men than women saw their acts as deviant (Table 22); twice as many men as women manifested general maladjustment in their personalities (Table 24); several more men than women showed signs of psychosis (Table 24); twice as many men as women indicated conflict within their personalities (Table 25); and more than twice as many men as women had a less positive attitude regarding themselves (Table 25).

CONCLUSIONS

As stated above, there were four basic questions and six hypotheses posed to guide the direction of the study and to ascertain whether the data would substantiate the hypotheses. The data filed to indicate that any of the variables observed had any bearing on the directing of a person to a homosexual lifestyle. The religious affiliation and activities of the respondents held promise of being a factor in this regard, but the promise did not materialize.

Concerning how deviant the subjects of the study feel in a predominantly heterosexual society, the data indicated that they do feel uncomfortable at some time or other when dealing with straight society. Morever, more men than women in the sample experienced difficulty adjusting to their homosexuality, their protestations to the contrary notwithstanding.

In the same nexus, more men than women in the sample indicated that at one time or another they wished that they were not homosexual. This is consistent with the finding mentioned above: that the men in the sample seemed to be less well adjusted in their deviance than did the women.

With regard to whether or not the respondents visualize their deviant commitment as irreversible, many of the respondents viewed themselves as being born homosexual, thus effectively negating any personal responsibility for their deviance. An interesting part of the data indicated that an equal number of men and women in the sample think that heterosexual intercourse was physically possible for them.

Regarding the hypotheses generated by this study, the data indicated that the first hypothesis, i.e., the majority of respondents would view themselves as being born homosexual, was partially substantiated. Twenty-one of the 26 males in the sample viewed themselves as being born gay; however, 12 of the 27 females felt that they were born gay, and 15 of the 27 felt that their homosexuality was a conscious psychological choice on their part. The chi square on this variable was significant at the .05 level.

The second hypothesis was that more women than men would desire long-lasting love relationships in homosexual encounters. This hypothesis was verified by the data, although more men than might be expected also desired long-lasting relationships (See Table 17). The chi square on this variable did not prove significant at the .05 level.

The third hypothesis stated that more women than men have had enduring homosexual love relationships. Although this hypothesis was borne out by the data, the trend was not what might have been expected. The average longest-lasting homosexual love relationship for the men was forty months, whereas for the women it was forty-nine months. A chi square test was not made on this variable.

The fourth hypothesis stated that more men than women are less well adjusted in their deviance since Lesbians enjoy a lower profile than do male homosexuals; thus, more men than women are anxious about maintaining their secret deviance. This hypothesis was substantiated strongly by the data, especially from the results of the TSCS.

The fifth hypothesis posited that more men than women in the sample entered a deviant lifestyle at an earlier age. The data indicated that this was in fact the case (see Table 6). Twelve of the men in the sample perceived themselves as exclusively gay prior to age twenty, whereas half that number of women made such a determination so early in their lives. Chi aquare was not run on this variable because of the small numbers in the response distribution.

The final hypothesis stated that more women than men in the sample believe in sexual fidelity between gay lovers. The data substantiated this hypothesis also, since seventeen of the male respondents believed in such sexual fidelity, but twenty-four of the women did. The chi square on this variable was not significant at the .05 level.

It may also be concluded, from the literature review, that the phenomenon of homosexuality has been a part of human sexuality since recorded history and even into the age of mythology. According to contemporary labeling theorists, whether or not homosexuality is deviant and to what extent it is deviant depends upon who defines what human acts are in fact to be considered deviant. The labeling of a person by society does produce a reaction in the labeled individual and this reaction produces a counterreaction from the labelers. Again to quote Becker: "Treating a person as though he were generally rather specifically deviant produces a self-fulfilling prophecy. It sets in motion several mechanisms which conspire to shape the person in the image people have of him."[159]

RECOMMENDATIONS

This study has generated areas of interest to others who may be involved in the study of the homosexuality aspect of deviant behavior. Among these are: (1) the number of homosexual siblings in a family given that one of the siblings is homosexual; (2) why it is that Lesbians seem to

enjoy a lower profile in our society than do male homosexuals; (3) why homosexual men seem less well adjusted in their deviance than do the Lesbians; (4) why Lesbians seem to be less inhibited in their use of artifical mechanical devices (e.g., dildos) than the men in their use of artificial mechanical vagina substitutes (excluding anal and oral intercourse); (5) the relationship between strong upbringing in a patriarchal religion (Judeo-Christian) and age at development of homosexuality.

FOOTNOTES

[1]George W. Henry, **All the Sexes** (New York: Rinehart & Company, 1955), p.488.

[2]**Ibid.**, p.480, citing T. H. Gaster, in **Forgotten Religions** (New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1950), p. 126.

[3]**Ibid.**, p. 490, citing P. Gordon, **Sex and Religion** (New York: 1949), Chap. 21.

[4]Arno Karlen, **Sexuality and Homosexuality** (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1971), p. 8.

[5]Henry, **op. cit.**, p. 523, citing C. Howard, **Sex Worship** (Chicago: 1909), p. 63.

[6]**Ibid.**, p. 522.

[7]**Ibid.**, p. 492.

[8]Ben Zion Goldberg, **The Sacred Fire** (New York: Horace Liverlight, 1930), pp. 187-188.

[9]Henry, **op. cit.**, p. 492.

[10]W. Robertson Smith, **The Religion of the Semites** (New York: Meridian Books, 1956), p. 59.

[11]Allen Edwardes, **The Jewel in the Lotus** (New York: Julian Press, Inc., 1959), p. 202.

[12]**Ibid.**, p. 203.

[13]William Graham Cole, **Sex and Love in the Bible** (New York: Association Press, 1959), p. 343.

[14]**Ibid.**, p. 351-360.

[15]Henry, **op. cit.**, p. 493.

[16]Edwardes, **op. cit.**, p. 203; Smith, **op. cit.**, p. 372.

[17]Raphael Patai, **Sex and Family in the Bible and the Middle East** (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1959), p. 169.

[18]Henry, **loc. cit.**

[19]Prior to the period of exile, sodomy was a crime only when committed as part of worship of a non-Jewish god. G. Rattray Taylor, **Sex in History** (New York: Ballantine Books, 1954), pp. 228-229.

[20]Phallic symbols.

[21]Cole, **op. cit.**, p. 350.

[22]Sodomite.

[23]Henry, **op. cit.**, p. 497, citing Charles J. Brim, **Medicine in the Bible** (New York: Rraben Press, Inc., 1936), p. 362. Brim suggests that perhaps the best known victim of this practice was the Biblical character Joseph, who was subsequently saved by the Lord.

[24]Edwardes, **op. cit.**, p. 207.

[25]Richard Lewinsohn, **A History of Sexual Customs,** trans. Alexander Mayce (New York: Harper Brothers, 1958), p. 57; Patai, **op. cit.**, pp. 168-174; Edwardes, **op. cit.**, pp. 239-254.

[26]Cole, **op. cit.**, p. 360.

[27]See footnote 23.

[28]Cole, **op. cit.**, p. 362. In particular the orientation of Sandor Rado, former director of the New York Psychoanalytic Institute, which rejects the Freudian theory of bi-sexuality, a theory frequently used to justify and rationalize homosexuality. See for example, Sandor Rado, "A Critical Examination of the Concept of Bi-sexuality," Psychosomatic Medicine, 1940.

[29]**Ibid.**, pp. 362-363. Cole supports the consolidation of the Revised Standard Edition.

[30]**Ibid.**, p. 364.

[31]Henry, **op. cit.**, pp. 503-504, citing Shalom Asch, in **The Apostle** (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1943), p. 73.

[32]**Ibid.**, p. 505.

[33]Karlen, **op. cit.**, p. 20.

[34]**Ibid.**

[35]**Ibid.**

[36]**Ibid.**

[37]Lewinsohn, **op. cit.**, pp. 57-58.

[38]**Ibid.**, p. 57.

[39]**Ibid.**, p. 59.

[40]Henry, **op. cit.**, p. 505.

[41]Will J. Durant, **The Story of Civilization** (New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1939), Vol. II, **The Life of Greece,** p. 519.

[42]See G. Rattray Taylor, **Sex in History** (New York: Ballantine Books, 1954), pp. 91-92, for an interpretation of Greek paederastic relationships as love situations without sexual acts (sodomy).

[43]Lewinsohn, **op. cit.**, p. 60.

[44]A. E. Taylor, **Plato: The Man and His Work** (New York: Meridian Books, 1957), p. 209.

[45]Karlen, **op. cit.**, pp. 18-19.

[46]**Ibid.**

[47]**Ibid.**

[48]**Ibid.**, pp. 20-21.

[49]Lewinsohn, **op. cit.**, pp. 62-63.

[50]Edith Hamilton, **The Roman Way** (New York: New American Library, 1932), pp. 153-154.

[51]Henry, **op. cit.**, pp. 511-512, citing Caius Suetonius Tranquillus, **The Lives of the Twelve Caesars** (London: 1893), p. 219.

[52]**Ibid.**, p. 512.

[53]Hamilton, **loc. cit.**,

[54]Henry, **op. cit.**, p. 513.

[55]Tiberius was suffocated when near death. Caligula was murdered by his own soldiers and Nero killed himself to avoid the same fate. Whether or not the violent departure of these emperors was a result of their sexual activities remains to be established.

[56]Lewinsohn, **op. cit.**, p. 79.

[57]Karlen, **op. cit.**, p. 50.

[58]Henry, **op. cit.**, p. 516, citing Edward Gibbon, **Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire** (Philadelphia: 1805), Vol. V., pp. 372-373.

[59]**Ibid.**, p. 516.

[60]**Ibid.**, pp. 519-520. Henry notes that in two of the classical works on witchcraft there is no mention of homosexuality, but that all forms of sexual irregularities were practiced at one time or another during these cere-

monies. The classics referred to by Henry are: R. Scott, **The Discovery of Witchcraft** (1584), and Sprenger and Kramer, **Malleus Maleficarum** (1484).

[61]**Ibid.**, p. 521, citing John T. McNeill and Helena M. Games, **Medieval Handbooks of Penance** (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), pp. 103, 113, 185, 246 and 247.

[62]Karlen, **op. cit.**, p. 88.

[63]**Ibid.**, pp. 89-97.

[64]Lewinsohn, **op. cit.**, pp. 151-194.

[65]Karlen, **op. cit.**, p. 123.

[66]Lewinsohn, **op. cit.**, pp. 210, 211, 222 and 223.

[67]**Ibid.**, pp. 223-224.

[68]Karlen, **op. cit.**, pp. 136-137.

[69]**Ibid.**, p. 137.

[70]**Ibid.**, p. 141.

[71]**Ibid.**, p. 145.

[72]G. Rattray Taylor, **Sex in History** (New York: Ballantine Books, 1954), p. 180.

[73]**Ibid.**, p. 329.

[74]Karlen, **op. cit.**, p. 199.

[75]Taylor, **op. cit.**, pp. 338-340.

[76]**Ibid.**, pp. 340-345.

[77]Karlen, **op. cit.**, p. 311.

[78]**Ibid.**

[79]**Ibid.**, p. 513.

[80]Taylor, **op. cit.**, p. 70ff. Taylor's thesis is based upon, but not identical with, the hypothesis of J. C. Flugel presented in his book, **Man, Morals and Society** (Duckworth, England: 1945). It is, in essence, a psychological theory unrelated to the various sociological theories regarding relationships between matriarchies and patriarchies.

[81]Although Taylor uses the term "sexual behavior" in stating his thesis, it is apparent from consideration of his theory that he is referring instead to sexual attitudes. His hypothesis is not a theory of causation, but is an attempt to account for variations in public attitudes toward sex throughout Western history. It should be noted that Taylor is attempting to illuminate certain attitude systems in sexually normal individuals and societies and does not suggest that overt homosexuality is necessarily more or less frequent in any society, although such a conclusion might appear logically to follow.

[82]Identifications made by female children are considered by Taylor in his theory, but in the interests of parsimony these factors will not be considered in this discussion. Functionally they are most similar to the male phenomenon.

[83]In practical application, Taylor contends that there has never been a pure matrist society in the period of recorded history (Karlen maintains this stance also.) His chief concern are various subcultures which have expressed strong matrist tendencies.

[84]The identifications represent alternative solutions to the Oedipus conflict, a brief discussion of which follows in this section.

[85]Taylor's book is basically an extension of this idea with various historical movements and phenomena being examined in the light of matrist and patrist tendencies. Modern society, according to Taylor, is gradually becoming more matrist, an observation which becomes apparent upon consideration of the data contained in Table 1.

[86]The term "homosexuality" as used here is intended to refer to love for a person of the same sex, without implying that such love has been given physical, sexual expression.

[87]It must be emphasized that Taylor is dealing in this theory with parental introjections of individuals, the vast majority of whom subsequently achieve "normal" sexual relationships. The "abnormal" continuation of parental identifications in the realm of sexual activity is quite another, although admittedly related, consideration.

[88]Inasmuch as the male child's love for his father is homosexual and his love for his mother is incestuous, repression of the former results in a preoccupation with homosexuality and repression of the latter leads to a preoccupation with incest.

[89]This is not to suggest that homosexuality does not exist in the matrist periods, but only that in such periods there is less neurotic anxiety in connection with homosexuality and consequently less public attention directed toward the problem.

[90]Taylor, **op. cit.**, p. 82.

[91]Harold Garfinkel, "Conditions of Successful Degradation Ceremonies," **American Journal of Sociology**, 61 (March 1956), pp. 420-424.

[92]**Ibid.**, p. 420.

[93]**Ibid.**, p. 422.

[94]Robert K. Merton, "Social Structure and Anomie," **American Sociological Review**, 3 (1938), pp. 672-673.

[95]**Ibid.**, p. 676.

[96]Edwin M. Lemert, **Social Pathology** (New York: McGraw-Hill Co., Inc., 1951), p. 75.

[97]**Ibid.**, p. 76.

[98]Edwin M. Lemert, **Human Deviance, Social Problems and Social Control** (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1967), p. 42.

[99]**Ibid.**

[100]**Ibid.**, p. 50.

[101]**Ibid.**, p. 48.

[102]Richard Quinney, **The Problem of Crime** (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1971), pp. 6-7.

[103]**Ibid.**, 32.

[104]**Ibid.**, p. 75.

[105]Richard Quinney, **The Social Reality of Crime** (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1970), Chap. II.

[106]Austin T. Turk, **Criminality and Legal Order** (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1969), pp. 54-64.

[107]**Ibid.**, p. 67.

[108]**Ibid.**, p. 175.

[109]Austin T. Turk, **Legal Sanctioning and Social Control** (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), p. 2.

[110]**Ibid.**

[111]**Ibid.**, p. 4.

[112]**Ibid.**, p. 10.
[113]**Ibid.**, p. 41.
[114]**Ibid.**, p. 68.
[115]Kai T. Erikson, "Notes on the Sociology of Deviance," **Social Problems**, 9 (1962), p. 309.
[116]**Ibid.**, p. 308.
[117]**Ibid.**, p. 310.
[118]**Ibid.**, p. 311.
[119]**Ibid.**, p. 313.
[120]John I. Kitsuse, "Societal Reaction to Deviant Behavior: Problems of Theory and Method," cited in Howard S. Becker, **The Other Side** (New York: The Free Press, 1964), pp. 87-88.
[121]**Ibid.**, p. 88.
[122]**Ibid.**, pp. 97-99.
[123]Albert J. Reiss, Jr., "The Social Integration of Queers and Peers," cited in Howard S. Becker, **The Other Side** (New York: The Free Press, 1964), pp. 181-210.
[124]Howard S. Becker, **Outsiders** (New York: The Free Press, 1963), p. 9.
[125]**Ibid.**
[126]**Ibid.**, pp. 41-53.
[127]**Ibid.**, pp. 147-155.
[128]Edwin M. Schur, **Labeling Deviant Behavior** (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1971), p. 3.
[129]**Ibid.**, p. 24.
[130]**Ibid.**, p. 41.
[131]Erving Goffman, **Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity** (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963).
[132]Schur, **op. cit.**, pp. 82-99.
[133]Edwin M. Schur, **Crimes Without Victims** (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965), pp. 11-163.
[134]J. L. Simmons, **Deviants** (Berkeley: The Glendessary Press, 1969), pp. 3-11.
[135]**Ibid.**, pp. 12-24.
[136]**Ibid.**, p. 25.
[137]**Ibid.**, p. 36.
[138]**Ibid.**, p. 41.
[139]Becker, **Outsiders**, p. 2.
[140]Simmons, **op. cit.**, p. 51.
[141]Becker, **Outsiders**, Chapter 3.
[142]Simmons, **op. cit.**, p. 62.
[143]**Ibid.**, p. 65.
[144]**Ibid.**, p. 130.
[145]Jonathan L. Freedman and Anthony N. Doob, **Deviancy: The Psychology of Being Different** (New York: Academic Press, 1968), pp. 148-153.
[146]**Ibid.**, pp. 91-100.
[147]**Ibid.**, pp. 101-118.
[148]John H. Gagnon and William Simon, **Sexual Deviance** (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), pp. 1-2.
[149]**Ibid.**, p. 2.
[150]**Ibid.**
[151]**Ibid.**, p. 3.
[152]**Ibid.**
[153]**Ibid.**, p. 4.
[154]**Ibid.**, p. 5.
[155]**Ibid.**, pp. 5-6.
[156]**Ibid.**, p. 12.
[157]These three researchers made a study entitled "Type and Frequency of Praise as Determinants of Favorability of Self-Image: An Experiment in a Field Setting," which study is reported in the **Journal of Personality**, Vol. 39, 1971, p. 493.
[158]Becker, **Outsiders**, pp. 2-3.
[159]**Ibid.**, p. 34.

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APPENDIX A

January 20, 1974

William H. Sisson
Sam Houston State University
Institute of Contemporary Corrections
and the Behavioral Sciences
Huntsville, Texas 77340

Dear Respondent:

I am a graduate student writing a thesis for completion of the Master of Arts degree at Sam Houston State University. In the completion of this thesis project, I need your cooperation. My thesis is concerned with the self-perception of American homosexuals and, with this in mind, I am asking you to take a few minutes of your time to help me complete the project. Your cooperation in this matter will be very much appreciated by me and, when the study is completed, it will offer an insight into a segment of human behavior which needs more research for public enlightenment.

In a nutshell, I am asking you to complete two tasks. One is to take the enclosed Tennessee Self Concept Scale test. In order to lend maximum validity to my study, I request that you do not take more than 15 minutes to complete this test. The instructions for completing the test are attached thereto, as is the answer sheet.

The other task is to complete the questionnaire which I have prepared and which is based on my research with the intent of developing some demographic data and personal views of the respondents. At the end of the questionnaire are two open-ended questions requiring short written answers by you. The answers to these questions are significant to the study and I hope you will take the time to answer them.

I would make one further request. I would appreciate it very much if you would complete the test and the questionnaire at your earliest convenience as my time for completing this study is limited. You will also find a stamped, self-addressed envelope enclosed which you should use in forwarding the test and questionnaire to me.

As you can see by observing the enclosed, your anonymity is assured. It is of no interest to me who you are or where you live. My only interest is academic; I need the data you can provide to me.

I hope to receive the completed test and questionnaire soon. Thank you.

Sincerely,

William H. Sisson

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. How old are you?_____
2. What is your present occupation?_____
3. Do you have a college degree? ____Yes ____No
4. Do you have any college education? ____Yes ____No
5. Presuming that you never attended college, are you a high school graduate? ____Yes ____No
6. Sex: ____Male ____Female
7. Were you ever heterosexually married? ____Yes ____No
8. Engaged? ____Yes ____No
9. Do you have any children? ____Yes ____No
10. What is your marital status? ____Married ____Divorced ____Widow ____Widower ____Single
11. What is the financial status of your parents or the family in which you were raised?
    ____Lower Class ____Middle Class ____Upper class
    ____Lower ____Lower ____Lower
    ____Upper ____Upper ____Upper
12. What is your financial status (omit this question if you still live with your parents or guardian)?
    ____Lower Class ____Middle Class ____Upper Class
    ____Lower ____Lower ____Lower
    ____Upper ____Upper ____Upper
13. How many brothers and sisters do you have?_____
14. Of what religious preference are you? ____Roman Catholic ____Protestant (which denomination? _____)
    ____Jewish (Orthodox____ Reform____) ____No Preference ____Other (which? _____)
15. When you were a child, did your parents bring you up strongly in the family religion? ____Yes ____No
16. Do you still subscribe to that religion? ____Yes ____No
17. Do you attend religious services on a regular basis? ____Yes ____No
18. During your high school years, did you participate in any extracurricular activities? ____Yes ____No
19. If the answer above is "Yes," in which activities did you particiapte? ____Drama (plays) ____Band ____Sports
    ____School Paper ____Other (what type? _____)
20. Would you say that you experienced what might be considered a normal heterosexual dating pattern in your early adolescence (14-17 years of age)? ____Yes ____No
21. What was the attitude of your parents (or guardian) regarding your adolescent dating? You may use a combination of responses. ____Strict ____Lenient ____Encouraged your dating ____Discouraged your dating.
22. During the period of your early adolescence, did you ever feel left out of the dating pattern of your peers for any reason (e.g., overweight, too thin, acne problems, etc.)? ____Yes ____No
23. MALES ONLY: During your adolescent years, did you ever feel "put down" in group encounters where it was necessary to shower together (e.g., in gym class) because of your concern about the size of your penis? ____Yes ____No
24. FEMALES ONLY: During your adolescent years, did you ever feel "put down" in group encounters where it was necessary to shower or dress together (e.g., in gym class) because of the size of your breasts? ____Yes ____No
25. At what age did you have your first homosexual experience, i.e., actual physical sexual contact to include kissing, petting or orgasm? _____
26. What was the time interval between your first homosexual experience and subsequent experiences?_____
27. Do you perceive yourself as exclusively gay, bisexual or predominantly homosexual? ____Exclusively Gay ____Bisexual ____Predominantly Homosexual
28. At what age did you perceive yourself as an exclusively gay person, if this is the case?_____
29. Are any other members of your immediate family (mother, father, brothers or sisters) gay? ____Yes ____No If so, which? _____
30. Do any straight members of your immediate family know that you are gay? ____Yes ____No
31. If the answer to Question 30 is "Yes," how do they react to you in light of this knowledge? ____They reject you ____They accept you ____They try to talk you out of being gay (You may use a combination of answers.)
32. Do you feel uncomfortable in the presence of your relatives (assume that they do not know that you are gay)? ____Yes ____No
33. Do you visit your immediate family with your lover? ____Yes ____No
34. Have you ever visited your immediate family or other relatives with your lover? ____Yes ____No
35. Do you think that straight members of your family would accept you if they knew that you are gay? ____Yes ____No ____Some of them

36. How do you feel about obvious homosexuals (butches, dykes, swishes, etc.)? ____They disgust me ____Don't like to be around them ____I'm indifferent toward them (You may use a combination of responses)
37. Do you ever feel guilty about being gay? ____Yes ____No ____Sometimes
38. Do you feel that homosexuality is as legitimate an expression of love as heterosexuality? ____Yes ____No
39. Do you frequent gay bars? ____Yes ____No
40. Do you feel uncomfortable in a heterosexual social environment? ____Yes ____No ____Sometimes
41. Would you prefer a long lasting relationship with a lover, or do you prefer shorter intense affairs? ____Long lasting relationship ____Shorter intense affairs
42. Regarding lasting relationships with any lover you have had or do now have, what is the approximate length of the longest lasting relationship? _____
43. Do you believe in sexual fidelity between gay lovers? ____Yes ____No
44. Do you feel in any way abnormal because you are gay? ____Yes ____No ____Sometimes
45. Do you ever wish that you were not gay? ____Yes ____No ____Sometimes
46. If you were to learn that your younger brother or sister were experimenting seriously with the gay life, what would you advise this person? ____Stay straight ____Become gay ____Neither (do what makes you happy)
47. Have you ever had heterosexual intercourse? ____Yes ____No
48. Have you ever engaged in heavy (to orgasm) heterosexual petting? ____Yes ____No
49. Were you ever sexually satisfied in a heterosexual encounter? ____Yes ____No
50. Have you ever experienced an emotionally satisfying heterosexual relationship (have you ever been in love heterosexually)? ____Yes ____No
51. Assuming that you were raised by your parents, did your mother or your father play the dominant role in the family? ____Mother ____Father ____Neither (they shared family leadership)
52. Do you believe in marriages of convenience (marrying a gay person of the opposite sex in order to keep straight society from prohibiting your advancement or of suspecting your homosexuality)? ____Yes ____No
53. Have you ever initiated a straight person into the gay life? (Have you ever had a sexual encounter with a person who had never experienced homosexuality and you pursued the relationship)? ____Yes ____No
54. Do you consider yourself physically attractive? If so, to what degree? ____Very attractive ____Attractive ____Unattractive
55. When in a predominantly straight group, none of whom know of your homosexuality, do you think of yourself as deviant, odd or strange? ____Yes ____No ____Sometimes
56. If you were at a predominantly straight party (your homosexuality being unknown), and someone told a joke about "queers," how would you feel? ____Hurt ____Angry ____Indifferent
57. Do you think that you have successfully hidden your homosexuality from the vast majority of straight society? ____Yes ____No
58. Do you feel that you have always been gay (born that way)? ____Yes ____No
59. Do you feel that your homosexuality is a conscious psychological choice on your part? ____Yes ____No
60. Do you think that it is physically possible for you to have sexual intercourse with a straight person of the opposite sex if you cared a great deal for this person? ____Yes ____No
62. MALES ONLY: Have you ever employed a vagina substitute (e.g., an artificial vagina) when sexually engaged with your lover? ____Yes ____No
63. MALES ONLY: Do you ever wish that you had a vagina when making love with your lover? ____Yes ____No
64. FEMALES ONLY: Have you ever employed a penis substitute (e.g., a dildo of any type(when sexually engaged with your lover? ____Yes ____No
65. FEMALES ONLY: Do you ever wish that you had a penis when making love with your lover? ____Yes ____No

Open-ended Questions

66. In your own words, please give me a brief explanation of why you are gay in a predominantly non-gay world.

67. If there is anything which you would like to add which you think may aid me in the completion of this study, please feel free to comment on this page.

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APPENDIX B

TENNESSEE SELF CONCEPT SCALE

by

William H. Fitts, PhD.

Published by

Counselor Recordings and Tests

Box 6184 - Acklen Station Nashville, Tennessee 37212

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INSTRUCTIONS

On the top line of the separate answer sheet, fill in your name and the other information except for the time information in the last three boxes. You will fill these boxes in later. Write only on the answer sheet. Do not put any marks in this booklet.

The statements in this booklet are to help you describe yourself as you see yourself. Please respond to them as if you were describing yourself **to yourself. Do not omit any item!** Read each statement carefully; then select one of the five responses listed below. On your answer sheet, put a **circle** around the response you chose. If you want to change an answer after you have circled it, do not erase it but put an X mark through the response and then circle the response you want.

When you are ready to start, find the box on your answer sheet marked **time started** and record the time. When you are finished, record the time finished in the box on your answer sheet marked **time finished.**

As you start, be sure that your answer sheet and this booklet are lined up evenly so that the item numbers match each other.

Remember, put a **circle** around the response number you have chosen for each statement.

Responses	Completely false	Mostly false	Partly false and partly true	Mostly true	Completely true
	1	2	3	4	5

You will find these response numbers repeated at the bottom of each page to help you remember them.

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PAGE 1

		Item No.
1.	I have a healthy body	1
3.	I am an attractive person	3
5.	I consider myself a sloppy person	5
19.	I am a decent sort of person	19
21.	I am an honest person	21
23.	I am a bad person	23
37.	I am a cheerful person	37
39.	I am a calm and easy going person	39
41.	I am a nobody	41
55.	I have a family that would always help me in any kind of trouble	55
57.	I am a member of a happy family	57
59.	My friends have no confidence in me	59
73.	I am a friendly person	73
75.	I am popular with men	75
77.	I am not interested in what other people do	77
91.	I do not always tell the truth	91
93.	I get angry sometimes	93

Responses	Completely false	Mostly false	Partly false and partly true	Mostly true	Completely true
	1	2	3	4	5

Page 2

		Item No.
2.	I like to look nice and neat all the time	2
4.	I am full of aches and pains	4
6.	I am a sick person	6
20.	I am a religious person	20
22.	I am a moral failure	22
24.	I am a morally weak person	24
38.	I have a lot of self-control	38
40.	I am a hateful person	40
56.	I am an important person to my friends and family	56
58.	I am not loved by my family	58
60.	I feel that my family doesn't trust me	60
74.	I am popular with women	74
76.	I am mad at the whole world	76
78.	I am hard to be friendly with	78
92.	Once in a while I think of things too bad to talk about	92
94.	Sometimes, when I am not feeling well, I am cross	94

Responses	Completely false	Mostly false	Partly false and partly true	Mostly true	Completely true
	1	2	3	4	5

		Item No.
7.	I am neither too fat nor too thin	7
9.	I like my looks just the way they are	9
11.	I would like to change some parts of my body	11
25.	I am satisfied with my moral behavior	25
27.	I am satisfied with my relationship to God	27
29.	I ought to go to church more	29
43.	I am satisfied to be just what I am	43
45.	I am just as nice as I should be	45
47.	I despise myself	47
61.	I am satisfied with my family relationships	61
63.	I understand my family as well as I should	63
65.	I should trust my family more	65
79.	I am as sociable as I want to be	79
81.	I try to please others, but I don't overdo it	81
83.	I am no good at all from a social standpoint	83
95.	I do not like everyone I know	95
97.	Once in a while, I laugh at a dirty joke	97

Responses	Completely false	Mostly false	Partly false and partly true	Mostly true	Completely true
	1	2	3	4	5

		Item No.
8.	I am neither too tall nor too short	8
10.	I don't feel as well as I should	10
12.	I should have more sex appeal	12
26.	I am as religious as I want to be	26
28.	I wish I could be more trustworthy	28
30.	I shouldn't tell so many lies	30
44.	I am as smart as I want to be	44
48.	I wish I didn't give up as easily as I do	48
62.	I treat my parents as well as I should (Use past tense if parents are not living)	62
64.	I am too sensitive to things my family say	64
66.	I should love my family more	66
80.	I am satisfied with the way I treat other people	80
82.	I should be more polite to others	82
84.	I ought to get along better with other people	84
96.	I gossip a little at times	96
98.	At times I feel like swearing	98

Responses	Completely false	Mostly false	Partly false and partly true	Mostly true	Completely true
	1	2	3	4	5

		Item No.
13.	I take good care of myself physically	13
15.	I try to be careful about my appearance	15
17.	I often act like I am "all thumbs"	17
31.	I am true to my religion in my everyday life	31
33.	I try to change when I know I'm doing things that are wrong	33
35.	I sometimes do very bad things	35
49.	I can always take care of myself in any situation	49
51.	I take the blame for things without getting mad	51
53.	I do things without thinking about them first	53
67.	I try to play fair with my friends and family	67
69.	I take a real interest in my family	69
71.	I give in to my parents. (Use past tense if parents are not living)	71
85.	I try to understand the other fellow's point of view	85
87.	I get along well with other people	87
89.	I do not forgive others easily	89
99.	I would rather win than lose in a game	99

Responses	Completely false	Mostly false	Partly false and partly true	Mostly true	Completely true
	1	2	3	4	5

		Item No.
14.	I feel good most of the time	14
16.	I do poorly in sports and games	16
18.	I am a poor sleeper	18
32.	I do what is right most of the time	32
34.	I sometimes use unfair means to get ahead	34
36.	I have trouble doing the things that are right	36
50.	I solve my problems quite easily	50
52.	I change my mind a lot	52
54.	I try to run away from my problems	54
68.	I do my share of work at home	68
70.	I quarrel with my family	70
72.	I do not act like my family thinks I should	72
86.	I see good points in all the people I meet	86
88.	I do not feel at ease with other people	88
90.	I find it hard to talk with strangers	90
100.	Once in a while I put off until tomorrow what I ought to do today	100

Responses	Completely false	Mostly false	Partly false and partly true	Mostly true	Completely true
	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX C

MANUAL

TENNESSEE SELF CONCEPT SCALE

by

William H. Fitts, PhD.

Published by
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Box 6184 - Acklen Station Nashville, Tennessee 37212

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MANUAL
Tennessee (Department of Mental Health) Self Concept Scale

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MANUAL FOR
TENNESSEE
(Department of Mental Health)
SELF CONCEPT SCALE

NATURE AND PURPOSE OF THE SCALE

Over recent years a wide variety of instruments has been employed to measure the self concept. Nevertheless, a need has continued for a scale which is simple for the subject, widely applicable, well standardized, and multi-dimensional in its description of the self concept. The Tennessee (Department of Mental Health) Self Concept Scale, hereafter called the Tennessee Self Concept Scale or simply the Scale, was developed to meet this need. Since the self concept has become such a popular and important means of studying and understanding human behavior, it was also hoped that an adequate self concept scale would provide a common thread for tying together many research and clinical findings. This hope has been realized for a vast amount of clinical and reserach data has been accumulated by a variety of workers, even prior to the formal publication of this scale.

The individual's concept of himself has been demonstrated to be highly influential in much of his behavior and also to be directly related to his general personality and state of mental health. Those people who see themselves as undesirable, worthless, or "bad" tend to act accordingly. Those who have a highly unrealistic concept of self tend to approach life and other people in unrealistic ways. Those who have very deviant self concepts tend to behave in deviant ways. Thus, a knowledge of how an individual perceives himself is useful in attempting to help that individual, or in making evaluations of him. The Scale therefore can be useful in attempting to help that individual, or in making evaluations of him. The Scale therefore can be useful for a variety of purposes—counseling, clinical assessment and diagnosis, research in behavioral science, personnel selection, etc.

The Scale consists of 100 self descriptive statements which the subject uses to portray his own picture of himself. The Scale is self administering for either individuals or groups and can be used with subjects age 12 or higher and having at least a sixth grade reading level. It is also applicable to the whole range of psychological adjustment from healthy, well adjusted people to psychotic patients.

The Scale is available in two forms, a **Counseling Form** and a **Clinical and Research Form.** Both forms use exactly the same test booklet and test items. The differences between the forms center in the scoring and profiling system. The Counseling Form is quicker and easier to score since it deals with fewer variables and scores, is appropriate for self interpretation and feedback to counselees, and requires less sophistication in psychometrics and psychopathology by the examiner. The C and R, or Clinical and Research Form, is more complex in terms of scoring, analysis, and interpretation, and is not appropriate for self interpretation by, or direct feedback to, the subject. Scoring for both forms can be accomplished either by hand, or by machine through the test publisher. Most subjects complete the Scale in 10 to 20 minutes (mean time about 13 minutes). Hand scoring requires about 6 or 7 minutes for the Counseling form and about 20 minutes for the Clinical and Research form.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE SCALE

The author began the developmental work on this Scale with the Tennessee Department of Mental Health in 1955. The original purpose was to develop a research instrument that might contribute to the difficult criterion problem in mental health research. It has since proved useful for many other purposes, and so much data have accumulated that they can only be briefly summarized in this manual. An additional technical report is planned which will report all of the data available.

In the original development of the Scale the first step was to compile a large pool of self descriptive items. The original pool of items was derived from a number of other self concept measures including those developed by Balester (1956), Engel (1956), and Taylor (1953). Items were derived also from written self descriptions of patients and non-patients. After considerable study, a phenomenological system was developed for classifying items on the basis of what they themselves were saying. This evolved into the two-dimensional, 3 x 5 scheme employed on the Score Sheet of both forms. A study of pages 7 and 9 will indicate this classification system. This part of the scale contains 90 items, equally divided as to positive and negative items. The remaining 10 items comprise the Self Criticism Scale.

After the items were edited, seven clinical psychologists were employed as judges to classify the items according to the 3 x 5 scheme already indicated. They also judged each item as to whether it was positive or negative in content. The final 90 items utilized in the Scale are those where there was perfect agreement by the judges.

The reader who would like to try the Scale on himself should do so at this point before reading the rest of the manual.

NATURE AND MEANING OF SCORES

Individuals who expect to use only the Counseling Form may wish to read only the first part of the following section. However, those who want to use the Clinical and Research Form should read the entire section because all scores in the Counseling Form appear also in the Clinical and Research Form.

I. **Counseling Form**

A. **The Self Criticism Score(SC).** This scale is composed of 10 items[1]. These are all mildly derogatory statements that most people admit as being true for them. Individuals who deny most of these statements most often are being defensive and making a deliberate effort to present a favorable picture of themselves. High scores generally indicate a normal, healthy openness and capacity for self-criticism. Extremely high scores (above the 99th percentile) indicate that the individual may be lacking in defenses and may in fact be pathologically undefended. Low scores indicate defensiveness, and suggest that the Positive Scores are probably artifically elevated by this defensiveness.

B. **The Positive Scores (P).** These scores derive directly from the phenomenological classification scheme already mentioned. In the original analysis of the item pool the statements seemed to be conveying three primary messages: (1) This is what I **am,** (2) This is how I **feel** about myself, and (3) This is what I **do.** On the basis of these three types of statements the three horizontal categories were formed. They appear on the Score Sheet as Row 1, Row 2, and Row 3 and are hereafter referred to by those labels. The Row Scores thus comprise three sub-scores which, when added, constitute the Total Positive and Total P Score. These scores represent an internal frame of reference within which the individual is describing himself.

Further study of the original items indicated that they also varied considerably in terms of a more external frame of reference. Even within the same row category the statements might vary widely in content. For example, with Row 1 (the **What I am** category) the statements refer to what I am physically, morally, socially, etc. Therefore, the pool of items was sorted again according to these new vertical categories, which are the five Column Scores of the Score Sheet. Thus the whole set of items is divided two ways, vertically into columns (external frame of reference) and horizontally into rows (internal frame of reference) with each item and each cell contributing to two different scores.

1. **Total P Score.** This is the most important single score on the Counseling Form. It reflects the overall level of self esteem. Persons with high scores tend to like themselves, feel that they are persons of value and worth, have confidence in themselves, and act accordingly. People with low scores are doubtful about their own worth; see themselves as undesirable; often feel anxious, depressed, and unhappy; and have little faith or confidence in themselves.

   If the Self Criticism (SC) Score is low, high P Scores become suspect and are probably the result of defensive distortion. Extremely high scores (generally above the 99th percentile) are deviant and are usually found only in such disturbed people as paranoid schizophrenics who as a group show many extreme scores, both high and low.

   On the Counseling Form the Positive Scores are simply designated as P Scores, while on the Score Sheet of the C and R Form they are referred to as P + N Scores in order to clarify the computations involved.
2. **Row 1 P Score - Identity.** These are the "what I **am**" items. Here the individual is describing his basic identity what he is as he sees himself.
3. **Row 2 P Score - Self Satisfaction.** This score comes from those items where the individual describes how he feels about the self he perceives. In general this score reflects the level of self satisfaction or self acceptance. An individual may have very high scores on Row 1 and Row 3 yet still score low on Row 2 because of very high standards and expectations for himself. Or vice versa, he may have a low opinion of himself as indicated by the Row 1 and Row 3 Scores yet still have a high Self Satisfaction Score on Row 2. The sub-scores are therefore best interpreted in comparison with each other and with the Total P Score.

[1] These items have been taken from the L-Scale of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (1951). Copyright 1943, the University of Minnesota. Published by the Psychological Corporation. Reproduced by special arrangements.

4. **Row 3 P Score - Behavior.** This score comes from those items that say "this is what I **do**, or this is the way I **act**." Thus this score measures the individual's perception of his own behavior or the way he functions.
5. **Column A - Physical Self.** Here the individual is presenting his view of his body, his state of health, his physical appearance, skills, and sexuality.
6. **Column B - Moral-Ethical Self.** This score describes the self from a moral-ethical frame of reference—moral worth, relationship to God, feelings of being a "good" or "bad" person, and satisfaction with one's religion or lack of it.
7. **Column C - Personal Self.** This score reflects the individual's sense of personal worth, his feeling of adequacy as a person and his evaluation of his personality apart from his body or his relationships to others.
8. **Column D - Family Self.** This score reflects one's feelings of adequacy, worth, and value as a family member. It refers to the individual's perception of self in reference to his closest and most immediate circle of associates.
9. **Column E - Social Self.** This is another "self as perceived in relation to others" category but pertains to "others" in a more general way. It reflects the person's sense of adequacy and worth in his social interaction with other people in general.

C. **The Variability Scores (V).** The V scores provide a simple measure of the amount of variability, or inconsistency, from one area of self perception to another. High scores mean that the subject is quite variable in this respect while low scores indicate low variability which may even approach rigidity if extremely low (below the first percentile).

1. **Total V.** This represents the total amount of variability for the entire record. High scores mean that the person's self concept is so variable from one area to another as to reflect little unity or integration. High scoring persons tend to compartmentalize certain areas of self and view these areas quite apart from the remainder of self. Well integrated people generally score below the mean on these scores but above the first percentile.
2. **Column Total V.** This score measures and summarizes the variations within the columns.
3. **Row Total V.** This score is the sum of the variations across the rows.

D. **The Distribution Score (D).** This score is a summary score of the way one distributes his answers across the five available choices in responding to the items of the Scale. It is also interpreted as a measure of still another aspect of self perception: certainty about the way one sees himself. High scores indicate that the subject is very definite and certain in what he says about himself while low scores mean just the opposite. Low scores are found also at times with people who are being defensive and guarded. They hedge and avoid really committing themselves by employing "3" responses on the Answer Sheet.

Extreme scores on this variable are undesirable in either direction and are most often obtained from disturbed people. For example, schizophrenic patients often use "5" and "1" answers almost exclusively, thus creating very high D Scores. Other disturbed patients are extremely uncertain and noncommittal in their self descriptions with a predominance of "2", "3" and "4" responses and very low D Scores.

E. **The Time Score.** This score is simply a measure of the time, to the nearest minute, that the subject requires to comi

ete the Scale. The author has only recently made any study of this variable, and at this point little is known as to its meaning or significance. It correlates significantly with only one of the many other scores of the Scale (Net Conflict sub-score for Column C where r = .32, significant at thes.05 level). Therefore, any validity it may prove to have with other criteria should add to the total validity of the Scale.

The data do indicate that, **provided the individual has sufficient education, intelligence, and reading ability to handle this task,** the majority of subjects complete the Scale in less than 20 minutes. These qualifications are quite important; if they are not met, the Time Score obviously has little meaning. It has been found that psychiatric patients in general take longer than non-patients. This is particularly true of those who are overly compulsive, paranoid or depressed.

II. **The Clinical and Research Form.**

The following additional scores of the C and R Form are presented in the order in which they appear on the Profile Sheet. Readers interested only in the Counseling Form may omit this section.

A. **The True-False Ratio (T/F).** This is a measure of response set or response bias, an indication of whether the subject's approach to the task involves any strong tendency to agree or disagree regardless of item contact (Fitts, 1961).

The actual meaning of T/F can be approach in three ways. (1) It can be considered solely as a measure of response set and interpreted in terms of the findings about the meaning of deviant response sets. (2) It can be treated purely as a task approach or behavioral measure which has meaning only in terms of empirical validity. In this sense the T/F Ratio differentiates patients from non-patients and correlates significantly with other tests. (3) It can also be considered from the framework of self theory. From this approach, high T/F Scores indicate the individual is achieving self definition or self description by focusing on what he is and is relatively unable to

accomplish the same thing by eliminating or rejecting what he is **not.** Low T/F Scores would mean the exact opposite, and scores in the middle ranges would indicate that the subject achieves self definition by a more balanced employment of both tendencies—affirming what is self and eliminating what is not self.

B. **Net Conflict Scores.** These scores are highly correlated with the T/F Score. More directly, however, they measure the extent to which an individual's responses to positive items differ from, or **conflict** with, his responses to negative items in the same area of self perception. Thus this is a limited and purely operational definition and application of the term "conflict". On the C and R Score Sheet separate scores are computed within each cell for the positive and negative items. The difference between these scores, the P - N Score, is an operational measure of conflict. Since the responses on the negative items are reversed on the Score Sheet, the P Scores and the N Scores have equivalent meanings. Thus any difference between P and N reflects contradiction or conflict.

There are two different kinds of conflict, as follows:

1. **Acquiescense Conflict.** This phenomenon occurs when the P Scores are greater than the N Scores (P - N yields a positive score or number). This means that the subject is over-affirming his positive attributes.
2. **Denial Conflict.** This is the opposite of acquiescense conflict. Here the N Scores for the cells are higher than the P Scores (P - N yields minus scores). This means that the subject is over-denying his negative attributes in relation to the way he affirms his positive characteristics. He concentrates on "eliminating the negative".

C. **Total Conflict Scores.** The foregoing Net Conflict Scores were concerned only with directional trends in our P - N measure of conflict. However, some individuals have high P - N conflict in a subject's self concept as well as the net or directional amount of conflict. The Total Conflict score does this by summing P - N discrepancies regardless of sign. High scores indicate confusion, contradiction, and general conflict in self perception. Low scores have the opposite interpretation, but extremely low scores (below the red line on the Profile Sheet) have a different meaning. The person with such low scores is presenting such an extremely tight and rigid self description that it becomes suspect as an artificial, defensive sterotype rather than his true self image. Disturbed people generally score high on this variable, but some also have deviantly low scores depending on the nature and degree of their disorder.

The conflict scores are reflections of conflicting responses to positive and negative items within the same area of self perception. These scores are not to be confused with the variability scores, which reflect fluctuations from one area of self perception to another.

D. **The Empirical Scales.** These six scales were all derived by item analysis, with a resulting selection of those items which differentiated one group of subjects from all other groups. The scores on these scales are purely empirical, and cut across the basic classification scheme of the Scale.

The scales were derived from an analysis of item responses with the following groups:

Group	Size of Group
Norm Group	626
Psychotic Group (Psy)	100
Neurotic Group (N)	100
Personality Disorder Group (PD)	100
Defensive Positive Group (DP)	100
Personality Integration Group (PI)	75

The comparative item responses for these groups were studied and analyzed by Chi Square tests. Those items which differentiated one group from all other groups were then used to compose a specific scale for that group. There is some overlapping of items, since a number of items are used on more than one scale.

The six empirical scales derived by this method, in order of their appearance on the Profile Sheet, are as follows:

1. **The Defensive Positive Scale (DP).** This is a more subtle measure of defensiveness than the SC Score. One might think of SC as an obvious defensiveness score and DP as a subtle defensiveness score. The DP Score stems from a basis hypothesis of self theory: that individuals with established psychiatric difficulties do have negative self concepts at some level of awareness, regardless of how positively they describe themselves on an instrument of this type.

   With this basic assumption, the author collected data on 100 psychiatric patients whose Total P Score were above the mean for the Norm Group. The item analysis then identified 29 items which differentiated this DP Group from the other groups.

   The DP Score has significance at both extremes. A high DP Score indicates a positive self description stemming from defensive distortion. A significantly low DP Score means that the person is lacking in the usual defenses for maintaining even minimal self esteem.
2. **The General Maladjustment Scale (GM).** This scale is composed of 24 items which differentiate psychiatric

patients from non-patients but do not differentiate one patient group from another. Thus it serves as a general index of adjustment-maladjustment but provides no clues as to the nature of the pathology. Note that this is an inverse Scale on the Profile Sheet. Low raw scores result in high T-Scores, and vice versa.

3. **The Psychosis Scale (Psy).** The Psy Scale is based on 23 items which best differentiate psychotic patients from other groups.
4. **The Personality Disorder Scale (PD).** The 27 items of this scale are those that differentiate this broad diagnostic category from the other groups. This category pertains to people with basic personality defects and weaknesses in contrast to psychotic states or the various neurotic reactions. The PD Scale is again an inverse one.
5. **The Neurosis Scale (N).** This is an inverse scale composed of 27 items. As with the other inverse scales, high T-Scores on the Profile Sheet still mean high similarity to the group from which the scale was derived—in this case neurotic patients.
6. **The Personality Integration Scale (PI).** The scale consists of the 25 items that differentiate the PI Group from other groups. The scoring is slightly different for this scale and is explained on the special template for scoring this scale. This group was composed of 75 people who, by a variety of criteria, were judged as average or better in terms of level of adjustment or degree of personality integration.

E. **The Number of Deviant Signs Score (NDS).** The NDS Score is a purely empirical measure, and is simply a count of the number of deviant features on all other scores. This score is based upon the theoretical position of Berg (1957) as stated in his "deviation hypothesis". This hypothesis states that individuals who deviate sharply from the norm in minor behaviors are likely to be deviant in more major aspects of behavior. The findings with the NDS Score substantiate this hypothesis. Disturbed persons often obtain extreme scores on either end of the continuum. Consequently, a system which sets appropraite cut-off points for each score on the Scale will identify disturbed persons with considerable accuracy.

The NDS Score is the Scale's best index of psychological disturbance. This score alone identifies deviant individuals with about 80% accuracy.

ADMINISTRATION

The Scale is self administering and requires no instructions beyond those on the inside cover of the test booklet. It is well, however, to note one point which may need special attention by the examiner. The answer sheet is arranged so that the subject responds to every **other** item on the answer sheet. Some subjects may be momentarily confused on this point, and it will help the examiner to be aware of this possibility.

SCORING INSTRUCTIONS

General

Manual scoring of the Scale is facilitated by the arrangement of the Combination Packet which registers answers directly on a score sheet by carbon paper. Computer scoring for 50 or more Scales is available directly from the publisher. For quantity scoring this method will prove more economical than hand scoring.

The instructions on the test booklet request that no item be omitted. It would help further if the examiner reiterated this point. With all these precautions, however, a respondent may still omit items. The scoring procedure to follow for omitted items is for the scorer to fill in the middle scale point of 3 for each omitted item before computing the score.

As far as possible the scoring procedures have been explained on the Score Sheets and on the templates for the Empirical Scales of the C and R Form. The instructions are, however, spelled out specifically below. These can best be followed and understood if studied along with a copy of the appropriate Score Sheet. (See pages 7 and 9). On the actual Score Sheets the basic 90 items are half in black (positive items) and half in red (negative items). The response scale numbers for negative items have all been reversed on the Score Sheet in order to permit a simple, unified scoring system. By this system a person who says **completely false** to a negative item obtains a high score just as he does when he says **completely true** to a positive item. Thus high scores uniformly mean positive self description.

I. **Counseling Form**

A. **The Self Criticism Score (SC).** Add the circled scores for items 91 through 100. Enter the sum in the box labeled SC=. This the SC Score.

B. **The Positive Scores - The Row Scores, the Column Scores, the Total P Score.** Note that the Score Sheet has three horizontal rows and five vertical columns. This combination yields fifteen cells of six items each.

1. Add the six circled scores in the first cell. Enter the sum next to the letter P at the bottom of the cell. Do the same with each of the fifteen cells. (Note: on Form C and R, scores for positive and negative items are computed separately and combined into a P + N Score which is the same as the P Score of the Counseling Form.)

2. **Row Scores.** Add horizontally the five cell sums for the first row (Identity row). Enter the resulting figure in the Row Totals column. Do the same for the other rows.
3. **Column Scores.** Add vertically the three cell sums for Column A (Physical Self). Enter the resulting figure in the Column Total section. Do the same for the other four columns.
4. **Total P Score.** Since this score is the total Positive score, it may be computed by adding either the Row Totals for P or the Column Totals for P. The resulting sum should be the same. It is best, indeed, to do the sum both ways so that you have an accuracy check for the computations. Enter the resulting figure in the box labeled **Total Positive or P.**

C. **The Variability Score(V)**

1. **Row V Scores.** For Row 1 (Identity) find the lowest of the five cell total P scores. Subtract this score from the highest of the five cell total scores. Enter the resulting figure on the extreme right-hand column of the Score Sheet.

   Do the same with the next two rows. Add the three row figures and enter the sum in the box labeled **Row Tot. V.**
2. **Column V Score.** For Column A find the lowest of the three cell P scores. Subtract this score from the highest of the three cell scores. Enter the resulting figure in the **Column Totals V** for Column A.

   Do the same with the next four columns. Add the five column figures and enter the sum in the box labeled **Col. Tot. V.**
3. **Total V.** Add the subtotals for Row Total V and Column Total V. Enter the resulting sum in **Total V.** These two subtotals are rarely the same and do not serve as an accuracy check.

D. **The Distribution Score (D)**

To compute this score the **Answer Sheet** must be used.

1. Count the number of 5's used by the subject on his answer sheet. Enter this number in the lower left hand side of the Score Sheet on the row labeled **Totals.** Continue by counting the number of 4's, 3's, 2's and 1's separately and enter each sum in the appropriate Totals line.
2. Do the computations indicated for the Totals row; i.e., multiply the 5's sum by 2 and put the resulting figure on the D line, copy the 4's sum, **omit the 3's sum,** copy the 2's sum, and multiply the 1's sum by 2. Add the four figures to get the D score.

II. **The Clinical and Research Form**

The following instructions will be clearer if the reader refers to the sample C and R score sheet on Page 9 as the explanations are given.

A. **The T/F Ratio**

In the lower left corner of the Score Sheer under "Distribution of Responses", start with the section marked "Totals". From these figures, which have already been recorded in computing the D Score, subtract out the numbers 5, 4, 3, 2, and 1 response in the self Criticism column of the Score Sheet. Record the remainder in the boxes just above; these should add to 90. T/F is then the sum of the 5's and 4's divided by the sum of the 2's and 1's. Divide and round to the nearest hundredth. This is the T/F Score or the ratio of true to false responses for the basic 90 items of the Scale.

B. **The Net Conflict Scores**

1. **Scoring.** For each six-item cell, subtract N from P and record the answer in the P - N blank. If N is larger than P, the P - N subtraction will of course yield a negative number which is recorded with a minus sign. Add the P - N cell scores algebraically for each row and column to obtain the subscores and record these in the blanks provided. The Total Net Conflict Score is obtained by summing either the row or column scores (algebraic addition). An accuracy check is provided by summing the scores both ways.
2. **Sub-score Profiling** (optional procedure). There is a way of portraying the Net Conflict sub-scores on the Profile Sheet though no specific spaces are provided for these scores. It is not at all essential to do this, and many users will not care to take the time required. However, such graphic portrayal provides a different means of conceptualizing these scores. Also, in studying an individual's profile this system provides quick visual identification as to the major areas of conflict.

   In order to plot these scores on the Profile Sheet the author employs these steps:

   a. Plot the basic profile in **blue** pencil.
   b. For each P + N Score (Rows, Columns and Total) **add** the equivalent P - N or Net Conflict Score. (Again this is algebraic addition.) Thus if the P + N Score for Row 1 is 125 and the P - N Score for Row 1 is -5, we add these two and get a score of 120. This resulting score of 120 is then plotted on the regular scale of scores for Row 1 on the profile sheet—but in **green** pencil. When the points for each row and column and the total have been thus computed and plotted, these points are connected with green lines and the entire green profile is labeled P.

   An alternate computation for the same scores, which may help make them more understandable is to add

SCORE SHEET

Counseling Form
Tennessee Self Concept Scale

NAME: MARY A. JONES | SCHOOL GRADE: 14 | SEX: M ☒ F | AGE: 20 | DATE: 10-10-64 | TIME STARTED: 2:07 | TIME FINISHED: 2:29 | TOTAL TIME: 22 min.

HOW THE INDIVIDUAL PERCEIVES HIMSELF

IN TERMS OF	COLUMN A PHYSICAL SELF	COLUMN B MORAL-ETHICAL SELF	COLUMN C PERSONAL SELF	COLUMN D FAMILY SELF	COLUMN E SOCIAL SELF	SELF CRITICISM	ROW TOTALS
ROW 1	P-1 P-2 P-3 N-4 N-5 N-6	P-19 P-20 P-21 N-22 N-23 N-24	P-37 P-38 P-39 N-40 N-41 N-42	P-55 P-56 P-57 N-58 N-59 N-60	P-73 P-74 P-75 N-76 N-77 N-78	91 92 93 94	POSITIVE P: 139
IDENTITY	5 5 5 1 1 1	5 5 5 1 1 1	5 5 3 1 1 1	5 5 5 1 1 1	5 5 5 1 1 1	5 5 5 5	VARIABILITY Range of Col Scores: 5
WHAT HE IS	4 4 4 2 2 2	4 4 4 2 2 2	5 4 5 2 2 2	4 4 4 2 2 2	4 4 4 2 2 2	4 4 4 4	
	3 3 3 3 3 3	3 3 3 3 3 3	3 3 3 3 3 3	3 3 3 3 3 3	3 3 3 3 3 3	3 3 4 3	
	2 2 2 4 4 4	2 2 2 4 4 4	2 2 2 4 4 4	2 2 2 4 4 4	2 2 2 4 4 4	2 2 2 4	
	1 1 1 5 5 5	1 1 1 5 5 5	1 1 1 5 5 5	1 1 1 5 5 5	1 1 1 5 5 5	5 5 1 1	
	P 27	P 25	P 27	P 30	P 30		
ROW 2	P-7 P-8 P-9 N-10 N-11 N-12	P-25 P-26 P-27 N-28 N-29 N-30	P-43 P-44 P-45 N-46 N-47 N-48	P-61 P-62 P-63 N-64 N-65 N-66	P-79 P-80 P-81 N-82 N-83 N-84	95 96 97 98	POSITIVE P: 128
SELF SATISFACTION HOW HE ACCEPTS HIMSELF	5 5 5 1 1 1	5 5 4 1 1 1	5 5 5 1 1 1	5 5 5 1 1 1	5 5 5 1 1 1	5 5 5 5	VARIABILITY Range of Col Scores: 8
	5 4 5 2 4 2	5 5 4 4 2 2	4 4 5 2 2 2	4 4 4 2 2 2	4 5 5 2 2 2	4 4 5 4	
	3 5 3 3 3 3	3 3 3 3 3 3	3 4 3 3 3 5	3 3 3 3 3 3	3 3 3 3 3 3	3 3 3 3	
	2 2 2 4 4 4	2 2 2 4 4 4	2 2 2 4 4 4	2 2 2 4 4 4	2 2 2 4 4 4	5 5 2 5	
	1 1 1 5 5 5	1 1 1 5 5 5	1 1 1 5 5 5	1 1 1 5 5 5	1 1 1 5 5 5	1 1 1 1	
	P 22	P 25	P 25	P 30	P 26		
ROW 3	P-13 P-14 P-15 N-16 N-17 N-18	P-31 P-32 P-33 N-34 N-35 N-36	P-49 P-50 P-51 N-52 N-53 N-54	P-67 P-68 P-69 N-70 N-71 N-72	P-85 P-86 P-87 N-88 N-89 N-90	99 100	POSITIVE P: 137
BEHAVIOR HOW HE ACTS	5 5 5 1 1 1	5 5 5 1 1 1	5 5 5 1 1 1	5 5 5 1 1 1	5 5 5 1 1 1	5 5	VARIABILITY Range of Col Scores: 5
	4 4 4 2 2 2	5 4 4 2 2 2	5 5 5 2 2 2	4 4 4 2 2 2	4 4 4 2 2 2	5 5	SC = 25
	3 3 3 3 3 3	3 3 3 3 3 3	3 3 3 3 3 3	3 3 3 3 3 3	3 3 3 3 3 3	3 3	
	2 2 2 4 4 4	2 2 2 4 4 4	2 2 2 4 4 4	2 2 2 4 4 4	2 2 2 4 4 4	2 2	
	1 1 1 5 5 5	1 1 1 5 5 5	1 1 1 5 5 5	1 1 1 5 5 5	1 1 1 5 5 5	1 1	
	P 26	P 29	P 25	P 27	P 30		
COLUMN TOTALS	SP 75	79	77	87	86	Total Positive or P →	404
						Row Tot V	18
	V (Range of P's for Col Scores) 5	4	2	3	4	Col. Tot V → 18	36

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES

NUMBER OF 1's 2's 3's 4's 5's

TOTALS 23 (n2) 25 (n1) 6 14 (n1) 32 (n2) = 100

D = 46 + 25 + 14 + 64 = 149

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BOX 5184 ACKLEN STA
NASHVILLE, TENN 37208

Fig. 1. Completed Score Sheet, Counseling Form

Tennessee Self Concept Scale

PROFILE SHEET

Counseling Form

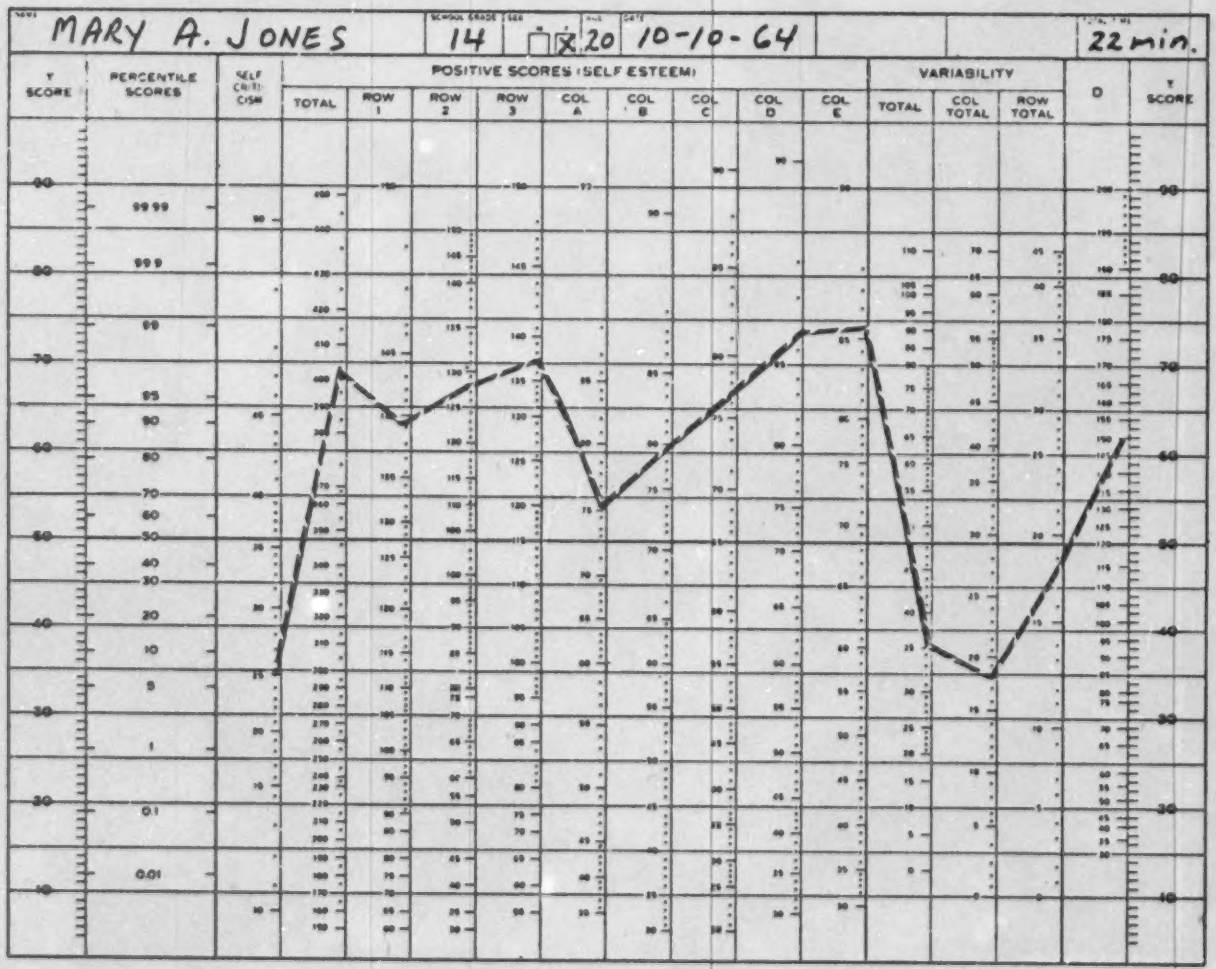

Fig. 2. Completed Profile Sheet, Counseling Form

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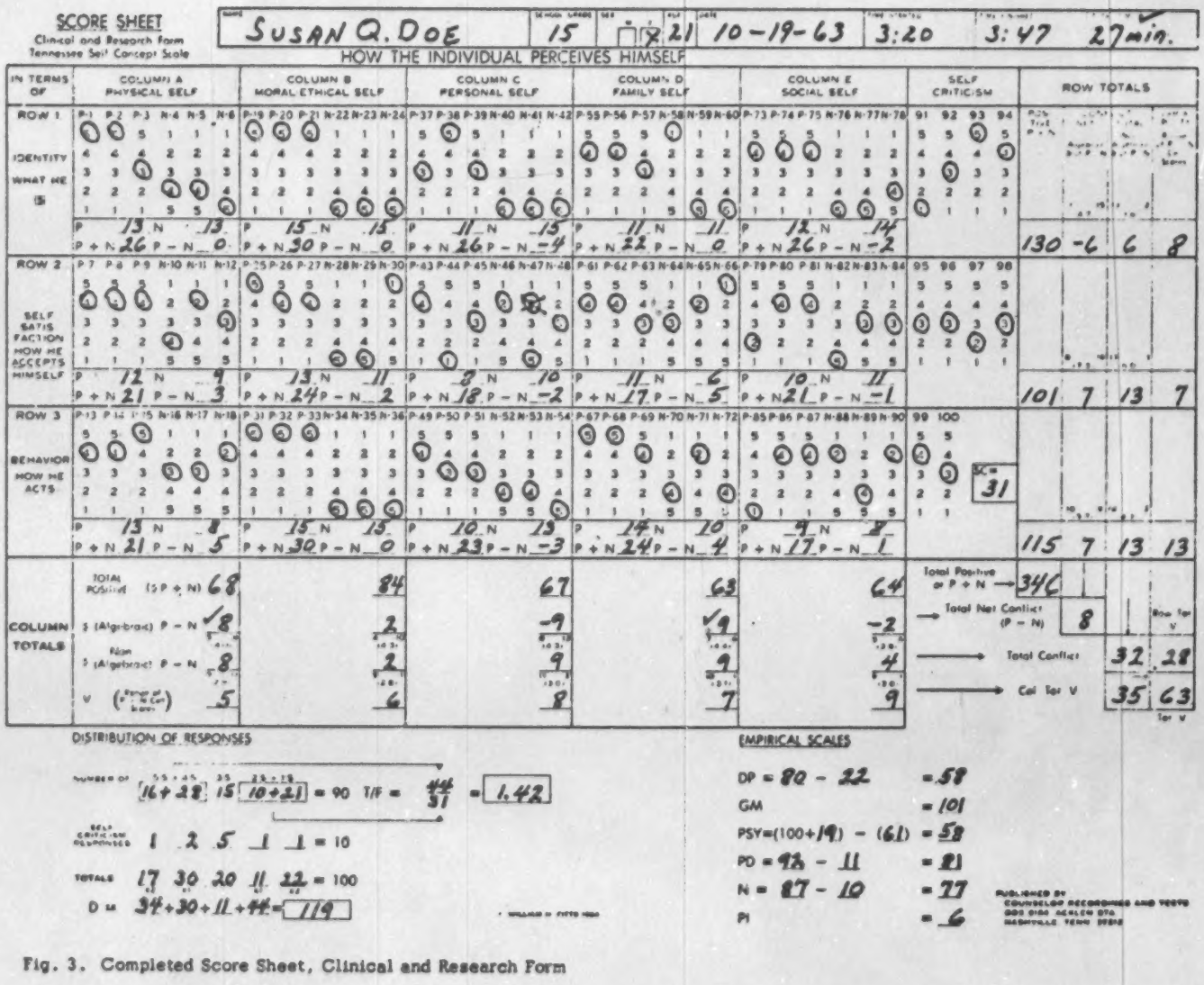

SCORE SHEET
Clinical and Research Form
Tennessee Self Concept Scale

NAME: SUSAN Q. DOE | SCHOOL GRADE: 15 | SEX: ☐ M ☒ F | AGE: 21 | DATE: 10-19-63 | TIME STARTED: 3:20 | TIME FINISHED: 3:47 | TIME TAKEN: 27 min. ✓

HOW THE INDIVIDUAL PERCEIVES HIMSELF

IN TERMS OF	COLUMN A PHYSICAL SELF	COLUMN B MORAL ETHICAL SELF	COLUMN C PERSONAL SELF	COLUMN D FAMILY SELF	COLUMN E SOCIAL SELF	SELF CRITICISM	ROW TOTALS
ROW 1	P-1 P-2 P-3 N-4 N-5 N-6	P-19 P-20 P-21 N-22 N-23 N-24	P-37 P-38 P-39 N-40 N-41 N-42	P-55 P-56 P-57 N-58 N-59 N-60	P-73 P-74 P-75 N-76 N-77 N-78	91 92 93 94	
IDENTITY	5 5 5 1 1 1	5 5 5 1 1 1	5 5 5 1 1 1	5 5 5 1 1 1	5 5 5 1 1 1	5 5 5 5	
WHAT HE	4 4 4 2 2 2	4 4 4 2 2 2	4 4 4 2 2 2	4 4 4 2 2 2	4 4 4 2 2 2	4 4 4 4	
IS	3 3 3 3 3 3	3 3 3 3 3 3	3 3 3 3 3 3	3 3 3 3 3 3	3 3 3 3 3 3	3 3 3 3	
	2 2 2 4 4 4	2 2 2 4 4 4	2 2 2 4 4 4	2 2 2 4 4 4	2 2 2 4 4 4	2 2 2 2	
	1 1 1 5 5 5	1 1 1 5 5 5	1 1 1 5 5 5	1 1 1 5 5 5	1 1 1 5 5 5	1 1 1 1	
	P 13 N 13	P 15 N 15	P 11 N 15	P 11 N 11	P 12 N 14		
	P + N 26 P − N 0	P + N 30 P − N 0	P + N 26 P − N −4	P + N 22 P − N 0	P + N 26 P − N −2		130 −6 6 8
ROW 2	P-7 P-8 P-9 N-10 N-11 N-12	P-25 P-26 P-27 N-28 N-29 N-30	P-43 P-44 P-45 N-46 N-47 N-48	P-61 P-62 P-63 N-64 N-65 N-66	P-79 P-80 P-81 N-82 N-83 N-84	95 96 97 98	
SELF SATIS	5 5 5 1 1 1	5 5 5 1 1 1	5 5 5 1 1 1	5 5 5 1 1 1	5 5 5 1 1 1	5 5 5 5	
FACTION	4 4 4 2 2 2	4 4 4 2 2 2	4 4 4 2 2 2	4 4 4 2 2 2	4 4 4 2 2 2	4 4 4 4	
HOW HE	3 3 3 3 3 3	3 3 3 3 3 3	3 3 3 3 3 3	3 3 3 3 3 3	3 3 3 3 3 3	3 3 3 3	
ACCEPTS	2 2 2 4 4 4	2 2 2 4 4 4	2 2 2 4 4 4	2 2 2 4 4 4	2 2 2 4 4 4	2 2 2 2	
HIMSELF	1 1 1 5 5 5	1 1 1 5 5 5	1 1 1 5 5 5	1 1 1 5 5 5	1 1 1 5 5 5	1 1 1 1	
	P 12 N 9	P 13 N 11	P 8 N 10	P 11 N 6	P 10 N 11		
	P + N 21 P − N 3	P + N 24 P − N 2	P + N 18 P − N −2	P + N 17 P − N 5	P + N 21 P − N −1		101 7 13 7
ROW 3	P-13 P-14 P-15 N-16 N-17 N-18	P-31 P-32 P-33 N-34 N-35 N-36	P-49 P-50 P-51 N-52 N-53 N-54	P-67 P-68 P-69 N-70 N-71 N-72	P-85 P-86 P-87 N-88 N-89 N-90	99 100	
BEHAVIOR	5 5 5 1 1 1	5 5 5 1 1 1	5 5 5 1 1 1	5 5 5 1 1 1	5 5 5 1 1 1	5 5	
HOW HE	4 4 4 2 2 2	4 4 4 2 2 2	4 4 4 2 2 2	4 4 4 2 2 2	4 4 4 2 2 2	4 4	
ACTS	3 3 3 3 3 3	3 3 3 3 3 3	3 3 3 3 3 3	3 3 3 3 3 3	3 3 3 3 3 3	3 3	
	2 2 2 4 4 4	2 2 2 4 4 4	2 2 2 4 4 4	2 2 2 4 4 4	2 2 2 4 4 4	2 2	
	1 1 1 5 5 5	1 1 1 5 5 5	1 1 1 5 5 5	1 1 1 5 5 5	1 1 1 5 5 5	1 1	
	P 13 N 8	P 15 N 13	P 10 N 13	P 14 N 10	P 9 N 8		
	P + N 21 P − N 5	P + N 30 P − N 0	P + N 23 P − N −3	P + N 24 P − N 4	P + N 17 P − N 1		115 7 13 13
COLUMN TOTALS	TOTAL POSITIVE (S P + N) 68	84	67	63	64	Total Positive or P + N → 346	
	S (Algebraic) P − N ✓8	2	−9	✓9	−2	→ Total Net Conflict (P − N) 8	Row Tot V
	Abs S (Algebraic) P − N 8	2	9	9	4	→ Total Conflict	32 28
	V (Sum of Col Totals) 5	6	8	7	9	→ Col Tot V	35 63
							Tot V

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES

NUMBER OF [55+45] 35 [25+15] = 90 T/F = 44/51 = 1.42
[16+28] 15 [10+21]

SELF CRITICISM RESPONSES 1 2 5 1 1 = 10

TOTALS 17 30 20 11 22 = 100

D = 34+30+11+44 = 119

EMPIRICAL SCALES

DP = 80 − 22 = 58
GM = 101
PSY = (100+19) − (61) = 58
PD = 92 − 11 = 81
N = 87 − 10 = 77
PI = 6

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Fig. 3. Completed Score Sheet, Clinical and Research Form

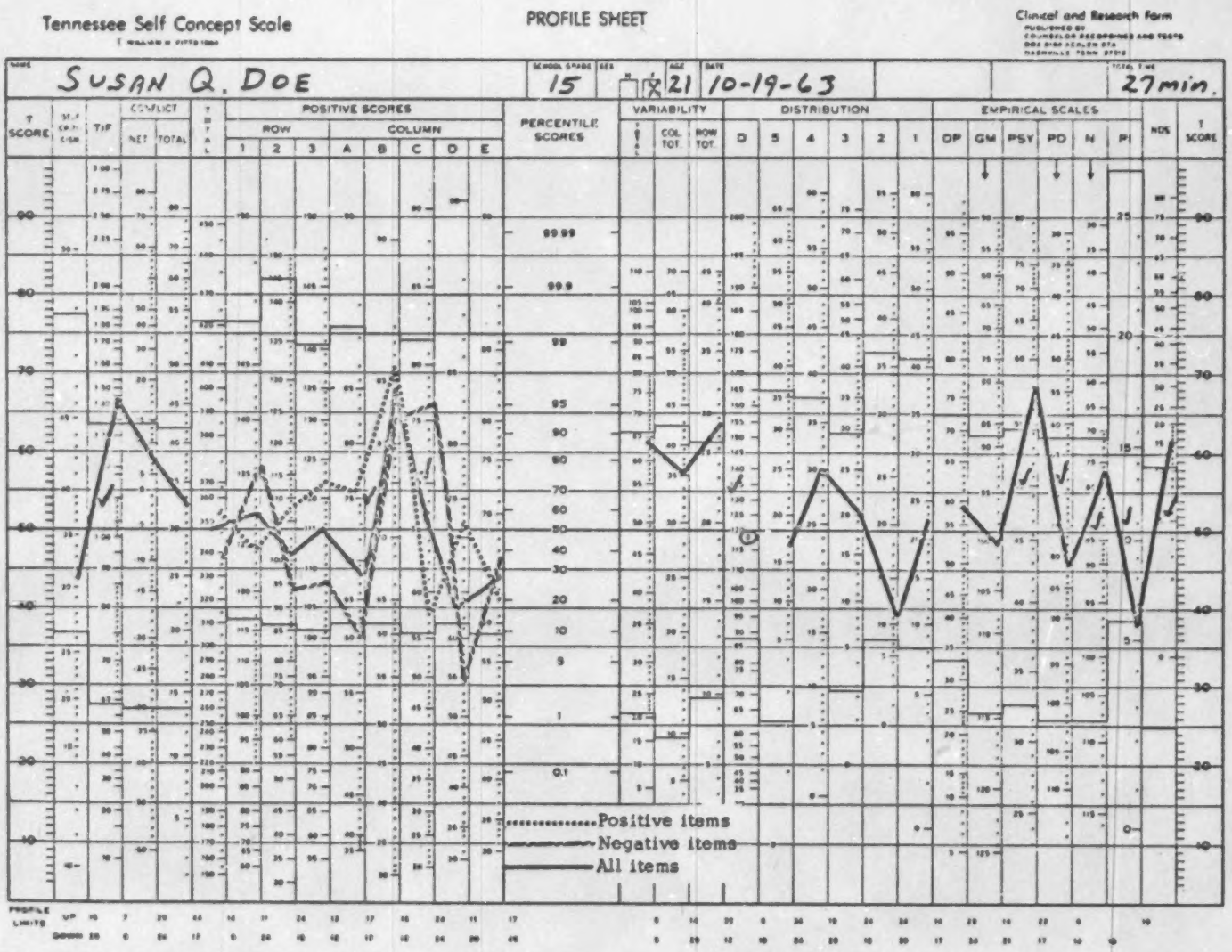

Fig. 4. Completed Profile Sheet, Clinical and Research Form

only the P Scores for each cell. When these sums are computed (Row Scores, Column Scores and Total) each has to be doubled (since we are using only half the items) to fit the scaling of the Profile Sheet and make them comparable to the other form of computation.

c. Repeat the same general operation described in **b** except this time **subtract** the P - P Score from the equivalent P + N Scores, plot the resulting scores in **red** on the Profile Sheet and label this red profile "N". This is the profile showing the kind of self concept the subject would obtain based solely on the negative half of the items. Marked discrepancies in these profiles are readily apparent, as is the direction of the conflict—i.e., acquiescence or denial conflict.

C. **The Total Conflict Scores.** These scores are again based on the P - N Scores for each cell. The scores are added across rows and columns, but this time the addition is non-algebraic, or without regard to sign. The interest here is only in the total amount of conflict without regard to the nature or direction of the conflict. Record the row and column sub-totals and sum either by rows or columns (or both for a check) for the Total Conflict Score.

D. **The Distribution Sub-Scores.** These scores are simply a count of the number of 5, 4, 3, 2, and 1 responses. Remember, though, that **this count is performed from the Answer Sheet and NOT the Score Sheet.**

E. **The Empirical Scales.** Scoring for each of these six scales requires the use of special scoring templates. Scoring instruction are provided on each template.

F. **The Number of Deviant Signs (NDS).** The general principle in scoring NDS is: count one deviant sign for each score that deviates beyond its specified normal limits; add an additional deviant sign for each standard deviation by which any score exceeds its limits. More specifically NDS is computed by these steps:

1. From the **Profile Sheet,** count the number of profile points falling outside the red lines. Additional deviations are counted for each 10 T- Score units of deviation for any score.
2. To this sum, add the number of deviant profile **segments.** By segment we mean here the line on the profile that connects one score with the next score. A profile segment is deviant if it varies up or down as much or more than the normal limits specified along the bottom margin of the Profile Sheet. This variation is counted in T-Score points. Extra deviant signs are added for each additional 10 T-Score points of deviation with any score.
3. From the **Score Sheet,** count the number of deviant scores among the Row and Column Conflict Scores (Net and Total). A score is deviant if it falls outside the normal limits printed in small numerals in each column and row total where the conflict scores are entered. For each standard deviation beyond the normal limits, an additional deviant sign is counted. The standard deviations are the numbers printed in parentheses at the center of the column and row spaces on the Score Sheet where the conflict scores are entered.
4. If the Time Score has been accurately recorded and if it is appropraite to use Time as a score (subject was not interrupted, has sufficient intelligence, education, and reading ability to handle this task, etc.) then the Time Score is treated like any other score. In other words, add a deviant sign for any score exceeding 24 minutes and an additional deviant sign for each 5.54 minutes (1 S.D.) of deviation.
5. Sum all of the deviant signs already counted, find where this tentative NDS Score would fall in the NDS Column of the Profile Sheet, then determine whether this creates any further deviant signs from the last segment of the profile which has not yet been plotted (PI to NDS). If the tentative total is **not** more than 19 T-Score units higher than the PI Score, go ahead and plot this score and connect it with PI. If, however, NDS is more than 19 points higher than PI, NDS should be corrected accordingly before plotting. (That is, add one NDS for the basic deviation and an additional NDS for each 10 T-Score units beyond the limit.)

   NDS is the only score on the scale, except for the Time Score, which cannot be obtained from our computer scoring methods. This is so because it is computed in large part from the Profile Sheet which must be plotted by hand.

A sample Score Sheet and Profile Sheet for a manic-depressive patient are presented on pages 9 and 10. Note that profile segments which are deviant have been checked to facilitate the computation of NDS. On the Score Sheet the scores which are deviant have also been checked. These checks may conveniently be made at the time the scorer first records the Conflict scores on the Score Sheet.

Notice too that on the sample Profile Sheet the Net Conflict sub-scores have been portrayed, as previously described, by plotting two additional profiles across the Positive Scores. The positive profile (small dashed line) shows the picture the patient presents based solely on the positive items and the negative profile (larger dashed line) is the picture based only on the negative items. The solid line of course is the total, or composite, picture obtained from all items.

The profile affords a visual image of the discrepant or conflict areas. Visual inspection, however, is not sufficient to point up significant discrepancies. Since the approach to these scores is empirical, we must refer to the specified limits for these scores on the Score Sheet to determine whether any specific discrepancy is deviant or not.

PROFILE INTERPRETATION

The Counseling Form Score Sheet and its accompanying profile (pages 7 and 8) may be presented directly to the client for interpretation and discussion. In the process the counselor could indicate the following salient features of the profile:

1. Total P is above the 95th percentile and indicates that the client reports a very positive view of herself.
2. A major downward deviation from this picture comes in Column A (Physical Self). The implications of this fact might be explored with the client.
3. The client has a low total Variability score (about 15th percentile), indicating consistency in her self report.
4. The high D score (about 85th percentile) suggests a definiteness about the self picture.
5. The low Self Criticism score indicates that Mary may be uncriticial in her self report, and may find it difficult to accept negative concepts about herself.

In a counseling climate of trust and acceptance any of the foregoing aspects of interpretation might stimulate further exploration by the client. The whole conceptual scheme of the Counseling Form is designed to make the profile relevant for the person and to minimize diagnostic terms removed from the client's frame of reference.

With the Clinical and Research Form, feedback interpretations with a client are much more difficult. Generally this form is used in research studies and clinical evaluations where interpretation back to the client is less appropriate. Here the researcher or clinician is more concerned with increasing his own understanding of the subject. The profile presented in Figure 4 on page 10 is the actual profile of a young lady whom we are calling Susan Doe. Susan is a very attractive girl who has completed three years of college but who has also been hospitalized several times for a manic-depressive psychosis. At the time she filled out the Scale she was back home with her family and had leveled off considerably from her previously disturbed state. Nevertheless, she continued having serious sexual problems and was engaging in much promiscuous behavior. She also continued having serious problems with her family and found herself experiencing very mixed feelings toward them. Family relationships were further strained by the fact that she had totally rejected the traditional fundamental religion of her parents and instead had joined a very liberal church. She still experienced severe depression but at this particular time was neither extremely manic nor depressed though continuing on a fairly heavy dosage of medication.

Examination of her profile indicates a slightly low SC Score suggesting some mild defensiveness. The T/F Ratio is high and deviant (as is the profile segment connecting SC and T/F). This suggests a person with a weak ego and poor controls over her own behavior, likely to act out her conflicts and to be influenced easily by others. The level of her P Scores is for the most part quite average but with lowest scores in the family and social areas. (At this time she was feeling unable to cope with social situations or employment at all). It is also interesting that her profile takes a slight dip on Physical Self despite the fact that she is a very attractive girl. Clearly though, the most prominent feature of the P Scores is the sharp spike on Column B (Moral-Ethical Self). Her actual score here is well within normal limits but is in such marked contrast with her scores on Column A and Column C that both connecting profile segments are deviant. This kind of sharp spike on Column B is frequently seen with both neurotic and psychotic patients. Note also that from Column B to Column C there is a deviant drop which may be a sign of depression.

Such a relatively high score on Moral-Ethical Self, particularly in one who has previously expressed strong doubts in this area, raises the question of whether we are getting a true picture here. Perhaps her moral problems and doubts have all been resolved. More likely they have been buried and we are simply seeing a highly, and efficiently, defended area.

The Net Conflict Scores are significant also. These scores are deviant in the same areas (Physical and Family) as her presenting problems would suggest. Frequently individuals involved in sexual acting out show the same kind of acquiescence conflict on Row 3 and Column A as we see on her profile.

The V Scores are high indicating a quite variable and compartmentalized self image. The various Distribution Scores are not unusual in this case. However, the Empirical Scales point up a strong similarity to the typical responses of psychotic patients (as we would expect from her diagnosis), and her score on the Neurosis Scale is also fairly high. The low score on the Personality Integration Scale is quite compatible with the total clinical picture, as is the total of 16 on the NDS Score. Her NDS Score is well above the cutoff for non-patients and strongly indicates a serious degree of overall disturbance.

Profile interpretation of this sort is interesting and often fits well with other clinical and case history data. For a more definitive basis for profile interpretation the psychometric data which follow this section are essential.

PSYCHOMETRIC DATA

I. Norms

The standardization group from which the norms were developed was a broad sample of 626 people. The sample included people from various parts of the country, and age ranges from 12 to 68. There were approximately equal numbers of both sexes, both Negro and white subjects, representatives of all social, economic, and intellectual

levels and educational levels from 6th grade through the Ph.D. degree. Subjects were obtained from high school and college classes, employers at state institutions and various other sources.

It would not be possible to expand the norm group considerably. This has not been done for two reasons. First, it has been apparent that samples from other populations do not differ appreciably from the norms, provided they are large enough samples (75 or more). Second, the effects of such demographic variables as sex, age, race, education, and intelligence on the scores of this Scale are quite negligible. With large samples (N = 100 or more) a few scattered scores will correlate significantly with these variables but these correlations are usually in the .20's and thus account for very little of the variance.

Data collected by Sundby (1962) with high school students, by Gividen (1959) with army recruits, by Hall (1964) with teachers, and by the author with Negro nursing students show group means and variances which are comparable to those of the norm group. The evidence so far suggests that there is no need to establish separate norms by age, sex, race, or other variables. However, the norm group does not reflect the population as a whole in proportion to its national composition. The norms are overrepresented in number of college students, white subjects, and persons in the 12 to 30 year age bracket.

The normative data for all major scores of both forms are reported in Table 1. Table 1 also includes the reliability data on these scores. With the exception of NDS Score, the other scores yield raw score distributions that conform fairly closely to the normal curve. The distribution for NDS resembles the classic "J" shaped curve (actually a reversed J, or more of an "L" shaped curve). Because of this, the conventional parametric statictics are meaningless for NDS. Therefore, the median is used in Table 1 and on the Profile Sheet. The correlations involving NDS which are reported later were all computed from T-scores rather than raw scores. The distribution for a few of the other scores, SC and T/F in particular, were somewhat skewed also. However the T-Scores of the Profile Sheets are McCall's T-Scores (Walker, 1943) and thus involve his special system for forcing all raw score distributions into a grid of normally distributed standard scores with a mean of 50 and standard deviation of 10.

Although the Scale is untimed, it is of some interest to consider time as a variable in dealing with the Scale. The data collected on the time variable utilized an answer sheet format somewhat different from the present one. There is no reason to believe that this would make a pronounced difference in time. One should, however, consider the possibility that the time may be lengthened slightly with the present format.

With a group of 570 non-patients, median time taken to complete the Scale was 12.4 minutes; mean time, 13.0 minutes (S.D. = 5.54). With a group of 300 psychiatric patients, the median time was 15.7 minutes; mean time, 18.1 minutes (S.D. = 5.03). The mean difference was significant beyond the .001 level.

II. Reliability

The test-retest reliability coefficients of all major scores, on both forms, are reported in Table 1. There are several other evidences of the reliability of the scores on this Scale. In his study with psychiatric patients Congdon (1958) used a shortened version of the Scale and still obtained a reliability coefficient of .88 for the Total Positive Score.

Other evidence of reliability is found in the remarkable similarity of profile patterns found through repeated measures of the same individuals over long periods of time. Through various types of profile analyses the author has demonstrated that the distinctive features of individual profiles are still present for most persons a year or more later. Related to this is the fact that reliability coefficients for the various profile segments in computing the NDS Score fall mostly in the .80 to .90 range.

III. Intercorrelation of Scale Scores

Table II reports the intercorrelations of the scores on the Scale. Some of the correlations are part-whole correlations and are consequently spuriosuly high. Such correlations are identified by asterisks. Other correlations are independent with regard to item overlap but are predictable from theory. The intercorrelation network is an important aspect of this Scale: Deviations from the typical patterns contribute significantly to the meaning of individual profiles. It is just such profile differences which are studied in the analyses of deviant signs.

A few other comments about the intercorrelations may be helpful:

A. Most of the scores correlate substantially with the NDS Scores but again there is some spurious effect here because NDS is derived from these other scores.

B. The scores which are logically related show appreciable correlations, as expected. For example, the various Positive Scores show sizeable correlations with each other and with the Empirical Scales in the expected direction.

C. The mechnical effect of some scores on others also produces the predicted correlations; for example, the high correlation between T/F and Net Conflict, and the influence of the Distribution Scores on other scores.

D. The major dimensions of self perception (self esteem, self criticism, variability, certainty, and conflict) are all relatively independent of each other.

E. Despite the fact that the intercorrelations reported in Table II are derived from an abnormal population they are fairly typical of intercorrelations obtained from other groups. The author has computed additional intercorrelations from a group of Negro nursing students and from the norm group. White (1964) also shared with the author

Table I

Means, Standard Deviations, and Reliability Coefficients

Tennessee Self Concept Scale

Score	Mean	Standard Deviation	Reliability***
Self-Criticism	35.54	6.70	.75
T/F	1.03	.29	.82
Net Conflict	-4.91	13.01	.74
Total Conflict	30.10	8.21	.74
Total Positive	345.57	30.70	.92
Row 1	127.10	9.96	.91
Row 2	103.67	13.79	.88
Row 3	115.01	11.22	.88
Col. A.	71.78	7.67	.87
Col. B.	70.33	8.70	.80
Col. C.	64.55	7.41	.85
Col. D.	70.83	8.43	.89
Col. E.	68.14	7.86	.90
Total Variability	48.53	12.42	.67
Col. Total V	29.03	9.12	.73
Row Total V	19.60	5.76	.60
D	120.44	24.19	.89
5	18.11	9.24	.88
4	24.36	7.55	.79
3	18.03	8.89	.77
2	18.85	7.99	.71
1	20.63	9.01	.88
DP	54.40	12.38	.90
CM	98.80	9.15	.87
Psy	46.10	6.49	.92
PD	76.39	11.72	.89
N	84.31	11.10	.91
PI	10.42	3.88	.90
NDS* (Median)	4.37		.90
Time	13.00	5.54	.89
Net Conflict Sub-Scores			
Row 1	-6.59	4.65	.70
Row 2	-1.26	7.31	.78
Row 3	3.19	5.65	.69
Col. A	0.64	3.95	.67
Col. B	-1.24	4.30	.73
Col. C	-5.74	4.25	.82
Col. D	1.90	4.35	.75
Col. E	-0.24	3.75	.65
Total Conflict Sub-Scores			
Row 1	8.63	3.58	.80
Row 2	11.16	4.24**	.64
Row 3	9.76	4.25	.74
Col. A	5.58	2.79	.61
Col. B	5.33	2.77	.80
Col. C	7.19	2.99	.77
Col. D	6.00	3.10	.72
Col. E	5.39	2.96	.68

*This distribution so extremely skewed that conventional parametric statistics are meaningless, so the Median is used on Profile Sheet. Actual mean is 7.3 but about 68% of non-patients score below mean.

**This standard deviation erroneously reported as 6.0 on Score Sheet.

***Reliability data based on test-retest with 60 college students over a two-week period.

additional data not reported in her study involving intercorrelations from two different groups of college males. In general the correlations for the other groups are comparable to those of the norm group with the following exceptions:

1. Intercorrelations between SC and the P Scores are generally higher than in Table II (approximately - .30).
2. Intercorrelations between the various P Scores are considerably lower.
3. The negative intercorrelations between P Scores and V Scores are generally higher than those of Table II.

Table II

Intercorrelations of Scores

Score	T/F	Net Conflict	Total Conflict	Total P	Row 1	Row 2	Row 3	Col. A	Col. B	Col. C	Col. D	Col. E	Total V	Col. V	Row V	D	5	4	3	2	1	W	Ob	Psy	PD	R	Fl	Mf	Time[A]
1 SC	.93	00	.11	-.10	-.05	-.10	-.12	.04	-.06	-.10	-.18	.00	.15	.11	.13	.12	.25	-.05	-.00	-.13	-.03	-.37*	.10	-.29*	.23*	.23*	-.16	-.00	+.07
2 T/F		05	.31	-.23	-.27	-.16	-.23	-.25	-.08	-.13	-.26	-.25	.06	-.01	.02	-.16	.01	.27	.17	+.30	-.36	.08	.36	.62	.15	.16	-.19	.48	-.09
3 Net Conflict			.62	-.21	-.23	-.16	-.21	-.23	-.07	-.12	-.23	-.21	.15	.11	.16	-.01	.30	.11	.05	-.15	-.33	.13	.36	.58	.12	.17	-.25	.50	-.08
4 Total Conflict				-.11	-.18	-.05	-.16	-.11	.02	-.11	-.07	-.16	.41	.32	.38	.36	.50	-.36	-.28	-.22	.57	.05	.21	.27	.06	.12	-.37	.38	.11
5 Total P				.95*	.93*	.96*	.75*	.82*	.89*	.96*	.88*	.88*	-.08	.08	-.26	.36	.37	.27	.47	-.20	.57	.84*	.74*	.93*	.56*	.86*	.89*	.67*	.82
6 Row 1					.80	.91	.71*	.78*	.84*	.84*	.88*	.84*	-.08	.08	-.22	.35	.38	.45	.50	-.20	.57	.86*	.79*	.93*	.64*	.87*	.86*	.69*	.71
7 Row 2						.82	.70*	.77*	.83*	.86*	.89*	.86*	-.13	-.32	-.23	.48	.35	.27	.39	-.24	.51	.86*	.79*	.92*	.56*	.81*	.86*	.67*	.87
8 Row 3							.72*	.79*	.90*	.89*	.85*	.85*	-.17	-.05	-.24	.31	.36	.25	.44	-.18	.53	.57*	.79*	.65*	.62*	.62*	.79*	.36*	.57
9 Col. A								.61	.67	.68	.65	.65	-.12	-.02	-.17	.40	.23	.16	.35	-.17	.45	.57*	.69*	.76*	.32*	.92*	.90*	.38	.31
10 Col. B									.75	.86	.75	.66	-.17	-.17	-.11	.50	.48	.25	.41	-.22	.50	.69*	.81*	.86*	.60*	.73*	.89*	.45*	.66
11 Col. C										.73	.73	.73	-.29	-.11	-.40	.43	.27	.15	.41	-.16	.44	.81*	.86*	.60*	.73*	.82*	.76*	.39*	.57
12 Col. D										.70	.70	.70	-.26	-.16	-.24	.50	.35	.30	.41	-.20	.53	.76*	.85*	.62*	.82*	.82*	.77*	.67*	.62
13 Col. E											.65	.65	-.05	.01	-.08	.44	.34	.28	.39	-.15	.47	.73*	.79*	.64*	.76*	.84*	.77*	.67*	.62
14 Total V													.83*	.83*	.83*	.36	.38	.21	.37	-.17	.23	-.20	.17	.02	.19	.21	-.23	.24	-.11
15 Col. V	Tot. V														.26	.27	.13	.23	.12	.17	-.16	.03	-.07	.17	.05	-.10	.01	-.05	.10
16 Row V	Tot. V														.32	.39	.26	.23	.20	.22	-.18	.28	.13	.15	.32	-.43	-.07	-.10	-.13
17 D																.86*	-.30	-.83*	-.50*	.89*	.61	.46	.33	.32	-.53	-.26	-.32	.18	-.15
18 5																	-.73	-.51	-.68	.71	.36	-.26	-.15	.39	-.39	-.26	.18	.38	-.11
19 4																		-.82	.60	-.61	-.18	.19	.26	.31	.18	.36	-.23	.27	.09
20 3																			.04	-.62	-.35	.44	.29	.61	.26	.23	.48	-.30	.15
21 2																				-.61	-.22	.05	.09	.26	.23	.49	-.10	-.19	-.12
22 1																					.37	-.30	-.63	.54	.49	-.10	-.45	-.15
23 HP																						-.70*	-.10*	-.70*	-.70*	.33*	-.15	.23
24 CM																						.60	.77	.79	-.56*	.74	.03	.26
25 Psy																							.37*	.63*	-.36*	.56	.06	.25
26 PD																								.68*	-.36*	.32	-.06	.26
27 R																									-.66*	.68	-.13	.27
28 Fl																										-.73	.06	.25
29 Mf																											.05	.29

N = 102 Psychiatric Patients r .195, sig. at .05, r. 256, sig. at .01

*Spuriously high because of overlapping items

[A] Time Score correlations computed from a different population (N = 50 r .279 = .05, r .355 = .01)

VALIDITY

Validation procedures are of four kinds: (I) content validity, (II) discrimination between groups, (III) correlation with other personality measures, and (IV) personality changes under particular conditions.

I. **Content Validity**

The purpose here has been to insure that the classification system used for the Row Scores and Column Scores is dependable. As noted before, an item was retained in the Scale only if there was unanimous agreement by the judges that it was classified correctly. Thus we may assume that the categories used in the Scale are logically meaningful and publicly communicable.

II. **Discrimination Between Groups**

Personality theory and research suggest that groups which differ on certain psychological dimensions should differ also in self concept. For example, we should expect differences between psychiatric patients and non-patients; between delinquents and non-delinquents; between the average person and a psychologically integrated person. One approach to validity has been to determine how the Scale differentiates such groups.

A. **Discrimination on the Basis of Psychological Status.** Statistical analysis have been performed in which a large group (369) of psychiatric patients have been compared with the 626 non-patients of the norm group. These demonstrate highly significant (mostly at the .001 level) differences between patients and non-patients for almost every score that is utilized on this Scale. The few scores that do not differentiate these two broad groups (SC, Col. Total V., D, and the number of "1" responses) do discriminate between more specific diagnostic categories within the patient group. In addition to these data other studies (Congdon, 1958; Piety, 1958; Havener, 1961; and Wayne, 1963) demonstrate similar patient vs. non-patient differences.

The author has also collected data from the other extreme of the psychological health continuum—from people characterized as high in personality integration. The basic hypothesis here was that this group (The PI Group previously described) would differ from the norm group in a direction opposite from that of the patient group. Fig. 5 demonstrates that this hypothesis is substantiated for virtually all scores.

The means and standard deviations of these groups are reported in Table III. It will be seen from inspection of the table that the means for virtually every score substantiate the original prediction. Equally important is the fact that the standard deviations of the three groups follow the same pattern. The patient group almost always shows a a wider spread of scores than the norm group while the PI Group is less variable. This additional variability among patient groups, plus the difference in means and medians, guarantees that there will be more extreme scores from patients on practically all variables. Validation procedures which made use of this differentaial variability are described next.

B. **Further Validation of Group Discrimination.** Table IV shows how effectively each score discriminates in terms

of deviant scores and cutoff points. It will be noted that the various scores differ considerably in their discrimination between these broad groups. A few scores, like SC and D, contribute little to patient vs. non-patient discrimination but are helpful in discriminating more specific diagnostic groups. The cutoff points are set so as to exclude about 10* of the normal population. It is apparent that with most of the scores these same limits exclude at least twice as many patients as non-patients. In many instances the ratio of deviant scores between patient and non-patient groups is 4 or 5 to 1.

An important validity question answered by the data in Table IV is the question of cross-validation. The left side of Table IV shows the discrimination of the scores among the original groups which served as the basis for establishing cutoff points (and from which the Empirical Scales were derived). The right side of the table demonstrates that the original level of discrimination holds up quite well with the cross-validation groups. The latter data come from one Ohio State University student group and from three patient groups—an Ohio State hospital group, a community mental health center group, and a VA psychiatric hospital group.

Table V shows the discrimination attained with the NDS Score. As previously indicated, the NDS Score is the best overall summary score for the Scale as far as general level of mental health is concerned. If a raw score of 10 is used as the maximum normal score for NDS, then we get the results shown in Table V. Twenty per cent of the original norm group score above the cutoff point as compared with a mean of 80* of the three patient groups. The cross-validation data indicate that this level of discrimination holds up quite well for other groups.

C. **Discrimination Within Patient Groups.** If the self concept is a useful approach in assessing an individual's state of mental health, it should differentiate **type** of disorder as well as **degree** of disorder. Fig. 6 demonstrates how the Scale discriminates among specific types of people. The comparative profiles shown in Fig. 6 are based on median scores for psychiatric patients from three specific diagnostic categories. These data come from Huffman (1964). Also shown in Fig. 6, for purposes of contrast, is the profile of median scores for a group of job applicants who took this Scale as part of the employment screening procedure. Note how this last group, which was obviously trying to make a good impression, betrays this defensiveness through low SC Scores, high DP Scores, a spike on the Psy Scale and a high NDS Score.

Further study of Fig. 6 points up other important features as follows:

1. Some of the scores which do not discriminate too well between the broad patient and non-patient groups do show sizeable differences between specific patient groups. This is particularly true of the Self Criticism Score, the Variability Scores, and the various Distribution Scores.
2. The Scale not only shows marked differences for these diagnostic groups, but these differences constitute a kind of "clinical validity"—they are about what would be predicted from the type of pathology and defenses represented by these diagnoses. For example, the Emotionally Unstable Personality is imbued with a pervasive feeling of guilt and worthlessness. He has few defenses which work consistently, except "acting out" which in turn makes the behavior erratic and unpredictable. Thus it is logical that the profile in Fig. 6 shows this group to be highest on SC, Total Conflict, Variability, GM, and NDS, and lowest on all Positive Scores and DP.

   Paranoid Schizophrenics are characterized by their use of the projection mechanism which enables them to blame, criticize, and mistrust others rather than self. Therefore, it "fits" that their profile should show them to be the lowest of the patient groups on SC and highest on DP while at the same time portraying the highest level of self esteem on the P Scores.

   The Depressive Reaction group generally ranges in between the other two groups. They show the kind of lowered self esteem, the variability, and uncertainty about self that would be predicted. Note also that the scores for all three groups on the Empirical Scales are about what one would expect since the Paranoid Schizophrenic groups represents a psychotic (Psy) diagnosis, the Emotionally Unstable Personality is a personality disorder (PD) and Depressive Reaction is a neurosis (N).
3. We cannot attempt here any detailed discussion of profile analysis or pattern interpretation. However this promises to be a rewarding area of exploration. For example, all three patient groups in Fig. 6 show higher scores on Row 2 than on Row 1, particularly the Paranoid Schizophrenic Group. This pattern is very predominant in all psychiatric patients, but especially those with paranoid defenses, and seems to represent an inability to express the self concern or dissatisfaction which would be consistent with the rest of their self perceptions. Havener's study (1960) of distortions in perception of self and others deal primarily with the differences in these two scores.

   The "V" shaped pattern of the Variability Scores is also characteristic of most patient groups. This means that self evaluation across the Column Scores (external frame of reference) is much more variable than across Row Scores which represent the internal frame of reference. Perhaps this means that disturbed people are more focused upon external sources of evaluation.

   Note also the sharp drop in scores between Column B and Column C for the Depressive Reaction group. This particular segment of the profile is apparently rather sensitive to depression. About 75* of patients with

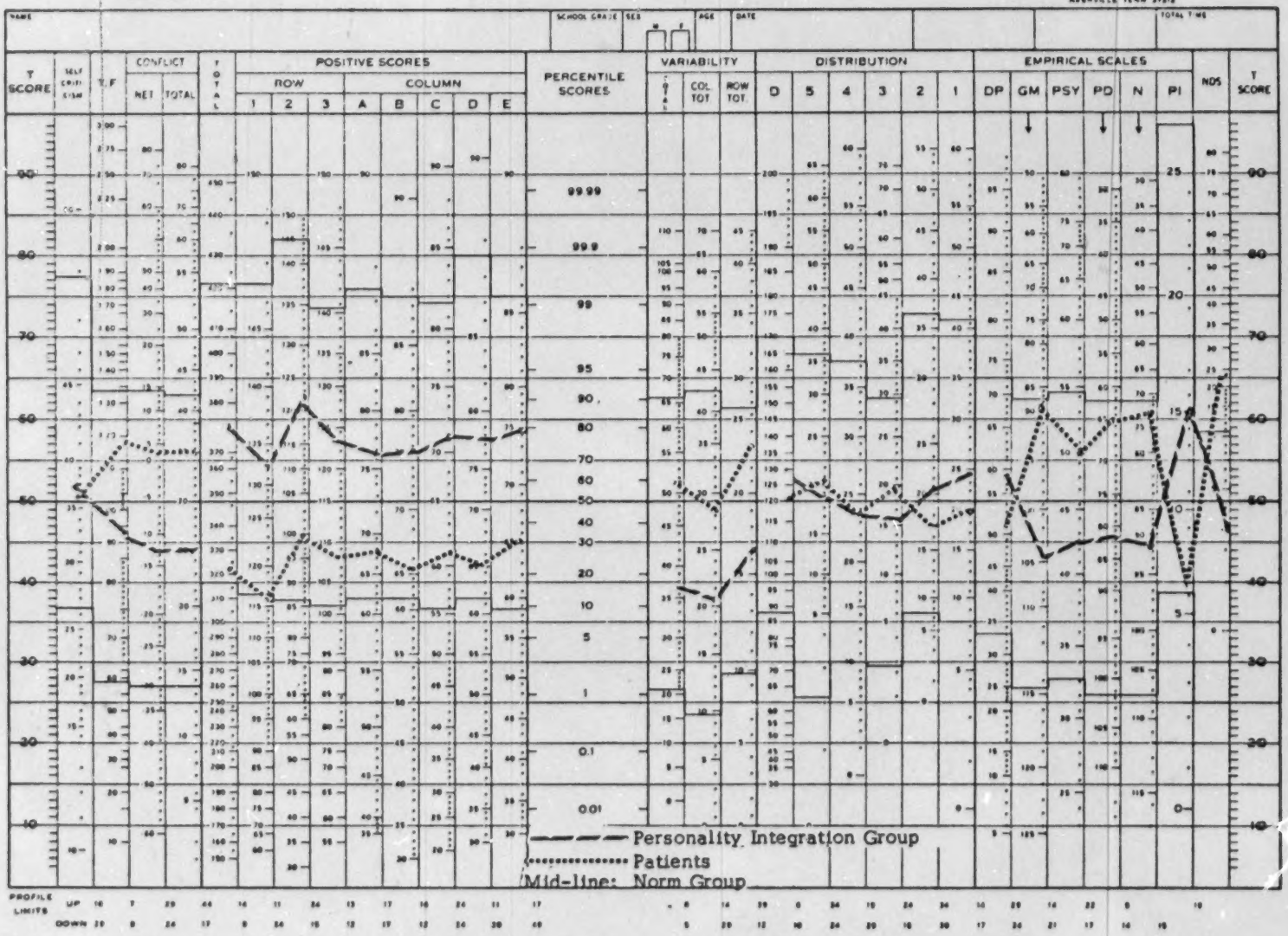

Fig. 5. Profiles of a personality integration group and patient group

any serious depression pick up a deviant sign on this segment. A drop of more than 12 points here is deviant and the median difference for this depressive group is 18 T-Score units. This segment correlates significantly (-.45) with the Depression score on the MMPI, and with negative feelings on the Inventory of Feelings (.52). It is interesting also that another diagnostic group (Sociopathic Personality) with very different psychodynamics shows exactly the opposite pattern on these two scores with Column C Scores significantly higher than Column B.

D. **Other Evidence Regarding Discrimination Between Groups.** Self theory would lead us to expect predictable self concept differences in groups whose behavior is different. A number of studies have been complete, or are still underway, which study the relationship between self concept and behavior. Atchison (1958), using the Counseling Form of the Scale, found a number of predicted differences between delinquents and non-delinquents. All variables except SC and D were significantly different in the predicted direction. The delinquents had lower P Scores and high V scores. A study by Lefeber (1964) found significant differences between juvenile first offenders and repeated offenders. These groups in turn were different from a control group. The differences were in expected directions. The highest spike in the offender's profiles was on the Personality Disorder Scale, as one would predict (see Fig. 7.)

In a recent study of unwed mothers, Boston and Kew (1964) found predicted differences on virtually every variable of the Scale. Gividen (1959) found a number of scores which differentiated soldiers who could weather the stress of paratrooper training from those who could not. Wells and Bueno (1957) found that a group of alcoholics had significantly low P Scores, high V Scores, and more extreme D Scores.

Piety (1958) found that Total P discriminated patients from non-patients at the .005 level. In a later, more extensive, analysis of Piety's data the author was able to make a blind patient, non-patient classification of these data with 72* accuracy (p. less than .001). This was prior to the development of the Empirical Scales and NDS which further improved discrimination.

III. **Correlations with Other Measures**

Another way to assess validity is to determine the correspondence between scores on the Scale and other measures for which correlations should be predicted. Such correlational data are available in abundance. Some of these are reported below.

A. **Correlations with MMPI.** Table VI shows the correlations of all profile variables on the Scale with scores on the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory based on tests from 102 psychiatric patients (McGee, 1960). Note that this table reports two different correlations for each pair of variables. The lower figure is a Pearson product moment correlation coefficient (r) and the upper figure is a generalized measure, the correlation ratio (E. or Eta).

From Table VI it is apparent that most of the scores of the Scale correlate with MMPI scores in ways one would expect from the nature of the scores. In some instances (Variability Scores, Distribution Scores, and Conflict Scores) there is relatively little linear correlation. With the same scores, however, the correlation ratios are substantially higher. This was predicted in advance because on these variables in particular, disturbed people tend to have extreme scores in both directions. Such deviant scores indicate pathology as already demonstrated.

B. **Correlations with Edwards Personal Preference Schedule.** When the Pearson r's were first computed between scores of the Edwards Scale and the Tennessee Scale, the resulting coefficients were disappointingly low. However, further consideration pointed up the fact that the very nature of the two scales is such as to contraindicate very many high linear correlations. Rather the logical expectation would be that the extreme high and low scores on both instruments would be correlated. Only a generalized measure of correlation would show such a relationship; and this led to the computation of correlation ratios on these and other data.

The correlations of Table VII were derived from data collected by Sundby (1962) and are based on 66 students from three different high schools. These data indicate rather clear nonlinear relationships between scores on the two tests.

C. **Correlations with Other Personality Measures.** Table VIII reports correlations between scores on the Scale and a variety of other personality measures. The Inventory of Feelings is an unpublished instrument developed by this author to measure positive-negative feeling states. The measures employed by Hall are described in his work (1964). Both Hall and Sundby made their data available to the author who completed the additional analyses reported in these tables.

The data from Sundby's study (1962) are reported here for two reasons. His study of social and personality variables related to conformity behavior was generally inconclusive, possibly because of a rather weak criterion measure. He concluded that conformity behavior was unrelated to self concept. However, he used only the Total P, Column C and Column D Scores from the Scale. The data on Table VIII indicate that there are significant relationships if all scores are used. These are still rather weak correlations. Nevertheless in most studies employing this Scale it does pay to use all of the scores.

The other significant aspect of Sundby's data is the fact that strong nonlinear relationships are apparent. Again this is exactly what would be predicted from Berg's deviation hypothesis. The evidence suggests that deviant

Table III

Means and Standard Deviations on All Scores for Three Groups

Along the Mental Health Continuum

Score	Patient Group (363) Mean	S.D.		Norm Group (626) Mean	S.D.	PI Group (75) Mean	S.D.
Self Criticism	36.0	6.8		35.54	6.70	36.87	5.98
T/F	1.17	.40		1.03	.29	.93	.12
Net Conflict	3.0	18.2		- 4.91	13.01	-12.13	8.15
Total Conflict	35.1	11.3		30.10	8.21	25.00	6.52
Total Positive	323.0	44.5		345.57	30.70	376.01	25.46
Row 1	116.2	15.7		127.10	9.96	132.45	8.52
Row 2	99.1	17.7		103.67	13.79	120.53	12.14
Row 3	108.0	15.4		115.01	11.22	123.00	8.85
Col. A	67.3	11.1		71.78	7.67	76.63	5.95
Col. B	65.2	11.0		70.33	8.70	75.79	7.60
Col. C	60.9	11.5		64.55	7.41	71.79	6.32
Col. D	64.8	10.8		70.83	8.43	77.43	7.34
Col. E	65.0	10.6		68.14	7.86	74.47	5.91
Tot. Variability	51.6	14.2		48.53	12.42	37.04	7.30
Col. Tot. V	28.6	9.8		29.03	9.12	20.60	5.96
Row Tot. V	23.0	7.3		19.60	5.76	16.44	4.28
D	121.4	31.1		120.44	24.19	130.10	20.11
5	20.8	12.3		18.11	9.24	19.07	10.28
4	23.3	10.3		24.36	7.55	23.40	7.60
3	19.4	12.6		18.03	8.89	15.80	7.49
2	17.0	7.4		18.85	7.99	20.73	8.64
1	19.6	10.6		20.63	9.01	24.20	10.30
DP	51.2	14.6		54.40	12.38	58.70	8.61
GM	89.2	13.4		98.80	9.15	104.04	7.05
Psy	49.7	8.4		46.10	6.49	42.28	6.02
PD	65.6	13.9		76.39	11.72	82.12	8.75
N	73.2	16.1		84.31	11.10	91.72	7.14
PI	6.74	4.17		10.42	3.88	15.0	3.22
NDS[A]	22.9		(Median)	4.37		2.9	
Time[B]	18.1	5.03		13.00	5.54	Not Available	
Net Conflict Subscores							
Row 1	- 5.5	6.7		- 6.59	4.65	- 8.39	3.43
Row 2	1.3	9.0		- 1.26	7.31	- 5.23	5.33
Row 3	6.5	7.7		3.19	5.65	1.04	3.67
Col. A	2.3	5.0		0.64	3.95	- 2.07	3.06
Col. B	0.6	5.3		- 1.24	4.30	- 3.45	3.54
Col. C	- 4.3	5.6		- 5.74	4.25	- 5.98	3.42
Col. D	3.2	6.1		1.90	4.35	0.55	2.88
Col. E	1.5	4.6		- 0.24	3.75	- 1.47	2.72
Total Conflict Subscores							
Row 1	10.3	4.2		8.63	3.58	8.73	3.08
Row 2	12.4	5.8		11.16	4.24[C]	8.50	3.95
Row 3	12.7	5.5		9.76	4.25	7.59	3.05
Col. A	6.8	3.5		5.58	2.79	4.77	2.40
Col. B	6.7	3.6		5.33	2.77	4.97	2.46
Col. C	7.6	3.6		7.19	2.99	6.51	2.98
Col. D	8.0	4.3		6.00	3.10	4.39	2.20
Col. E	6.3	3.5		5.39	2.96	4.28	1.98

[A]Distribution of data too skewed for mean and standard deviation to be meaningful. Medians are reported instead.

[B]Based on different populations.

[C]Erroneously reported as 6.0 on C and R Score Sheet.

Table IV

Percent of Cases Exceeding Cutoff Points

Patients and Non-Patients

Variable	Normal Limits	Original Validation Groups: Norm Group N=626	PI Group N=75	Psy Group N=100	PD Group N=100	N Group N=100	DP Group N=100	Cross Validation Groups: OSU Students N=100	Ohio Patients N=125	NMHC Patients N=459	VA Patients N=100
SC	48 & 27	10	5	14	12	11	19	5	15	10	12
T/F	1.34 & .58	10	0	31	25	23	16	2	28	22	43
Net Conflict	13 & -30	10	0	28	20	18	18	3	23	20	37
Tot. Conflict	42 & 14	10	1	35	21	19	16	4	19	20	36
Total P	421 & 318	17	4	43	47	46	2	14	41	44	41
Row 1	147 & 117	13	4	56	45	49	3	14	45	50	38
Row 2	144 & 87	10	0	22	27	27	2	5	25	27	22
Row 3	140 & 102	10	3	31	35	35	3	9	34	32	29
Col. A	88 & 63	10	6	44	22	43	9	13	41	35	38
Col. B	88 & 62	10	7	24	50	25	7	14	24	34	34
Col. C	81 & 56	10	6	33	31	44	8	10	36	33	21
Col. D	88 & 62	11	8	40	45	39	6	16	42	43	33
Col. E	86 & 59	10	4	33	18	26	3	7	28	25	14
Total V	65 & 21	10	0	16	18	12	6	3	20	17	20
Col. Tot. V	42 & 10	10	1	11	12	6	4	4	8	10	15
Row Tot. V	26 & 9	15	3	33	33	31	11	7	26	29	2C
D	170 & 87	10	8	24	19	12	14	11	17	18	20
5	36 & 3	5	9	27	20	7	18	3	14	13	28
4	37 & 10	6	4	23	18	9	21	4	18	15	30
3	29 & 2	11	4	23	26	20	6	10	22	22	24
2	36 & 8	10	12	32	26	8	27	8	19	16	33
1	41 & 9	9	4	26	16	17	13	11	21	19	23
DP	72 & 33	12	8	24	22	22	47	11	26	20	19
GM	88 & 114	10	6	53	43	43	5	8	40	40	33
Psy	54 & 34	10	7	62	24	27	17	5	36	24	37
PD	63 & 101	12	0	30	58	32	4	11	34	32	36
N	71 & 107	12	0	44	29	59	8	11	43	41	34
PI	25 & 7	14	7	64	51	47	40	15	50	48	46
NDS	10 & 0	20	10	93	76	71	61	21	78	81	79

Table V

Group Discrimination With the NDS Score-Cumulative Percentages

NDS Score	Original Groups: Norm Group N=626	PI Group N=75	Psy Group N=100	PD Group N=100	N Group N=100	DP Group N=100	Cross Validation Groups: OSU Students N=100	Ohio Patients N=100	MAC Patients N=100	VA Patients N=100
70-74				100				100	100	100
65-69			100	99				98	99	89
60-64			98	99	100			97	98	87
55-59			96	97	99			93	97	84
50-54			93	93	99	100		92	96	82
45-49	100		87	90	99	97	100	90	94	78
40-44	99		80	84	96	94	99	85	92	76
35-39	99		72	81	90	91	99	77	87	70
30-34	98		65	74	85	86	98	71	81	65
25-29	97		54	69	74	79	98	64	71	59
20-24	94	100	40	56	62	69	96	56	63	54
15-19	92	99	29	43	49	60	92	47	43	45
10-14	87	97	20	32	38	51	86	36	29	32
5-9	77	87	7	20	27	34	77	20	17	18
0-4	52	67	4	7	11	14	56	9	5	11
Median	4.4	2.9	28.1	22.2	19.9	14.0	4.0	21.7	21.3	22.0

scores on the Scale are associated with deviant behavior, and it is not surprising to find this with conformity behavior. On many of the scores of the Scale (Conflict, Distribution, Profile Segments, etc.) the extent of deviation is more important than the direction of deviation.

In Runyan's (1958) investigation of racial difference, no significant self concept differences were found between white and Negro college students. There was, however, a significant negative relationship between P Scores and the use of defense mechanisms, or adaptational maneuvers as he called them, for both races. These mechanisms were defined as: manifestations of anxiety, denial of aggression, restriction of affectivity, ingratiation, and level of aspiration.

In Quinn's study (1957) of teacher trainees a correlation of -.534 was obtained between Total P and the Minnesota Teacher Attitude Inventory. Since high scores on the Minnesota Inventory reflect unhealthy attitudes toward children, the conclusion is that people with positive self concepts tend to have more desirable attitudes for teaching.

Wayne (1963) reports a correlation of .68 between Total P and Izard's Self Rating Positive Affect Scale. An earlier report by Wehmer and Izard (1962) indicated a similar correlation between these two measures. Wayne also reports significant negative correlations between the DP Score and his measures of Behavioral Hostility indicating that patients with low defenses expressed more hostility.

Searles (1962) reports the following tetrachoric correlations between self concept and family relations as measured by the Kell- Hoefline Incomplete Sentence Blank:

Total P	.58
Self Criticism	−.41
Total V	−.36
Col. C.	.41
Col. D.	.77

Havener's investigations (Havener 1961, Havener and Izard, 1962) report extensive data on differences between paranoid schizophrenics, non-paranoid schizophrenics, and normals. Particular attention is devoted to difference scores between Row 1 and Row 2 and between Col. C and Col. D. An extensive analysis of the SC Score is reported, as are correlations between the Berger Scale and the Tennessee Scale.

IV. **Personality Changes Under Particular Conditions**

It is logical to expect that certain life experiences would have consequences for the way in which a person see himself. Psychotherapy or other positive experiences would be expected to result in enhancement of the self concept, while stress or failure would be expected to result in lowered self esteem. Studies of this kind are reported in this section.

Gividen (1959) sought to evaluate the effects of stress and failure on the self concepts of army paratroop trainees. These trainees were subjected not only to physical dangers but to attitude training in which failure was considered a disgrace. Gividen administrered the Scale before and after this experience. The Pass group and Fail group both showed significant score decreases. The Fail group showed significantly greater decrease in Column A (Physical Self) and significantly greater increase in the T/F ratio. Both groups showed less certainty in self description as evidenced by lower D Scores.

In an unpublished study of group therapy with six female patients the writer used the Scale in predicting changes through therapy. The Scale and other tests were administered to each patient before therapy. From the pretest data a number of individual predictions were made with respect to Scale changes which should take place. A total of 88 predictions were made. The Scale was subsequently readministered after five to eight months. Of the 88 predictions, 60 were correct (P less than .001.)

A recent study by Ashcraft and Fitts (1964) is the most thorough work yet completed with the Scale on changes through psychotherapy. The design included an experimental group consisting of 30 patients who had been in therapy for an average of 6 months and a no-therapy control group of 24 patients who had been waiting for therapy for an average of 6.7 months. All subjects were measured on a test-retest basis with the Scale. The therapy group changed significantly and in the expected direction of 18 of the 22 variables studied while the control group changed in 2 variables. Fig. 8 presents a visual picture of the contrast between the two groups on test-retest profiles.

In addition to group predictions, more detailed individual predictions were made. It was predicted that a total of 1110 score changes would occur. Of this total, 765 were correctly predicted. When individual predictions were considered by subjects, a significant proportion of changes was predicted for 25 of the 30 subjects. Of the remaining 5 subjects, 4 were judged indepently by their therapists not to have improved in therapy.

In another study, Congdon (1958) sought to evaluate the effects of a tranquilizing drug on the self concept. The patients in this study showed symptomatic and behavioral improvements but no significant change in self concept

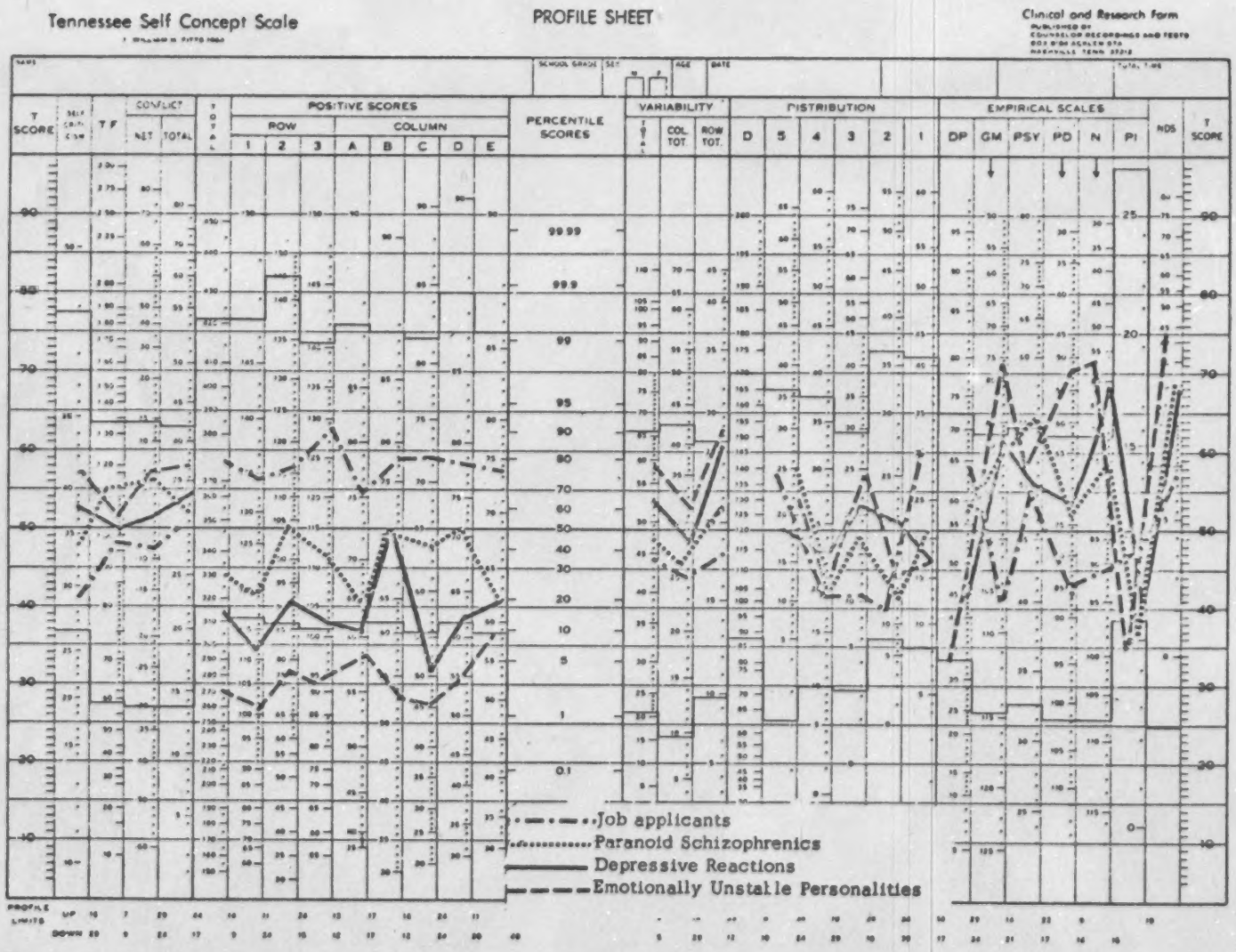

Fig. 6. Profiles of three patient groups and a non-patient group

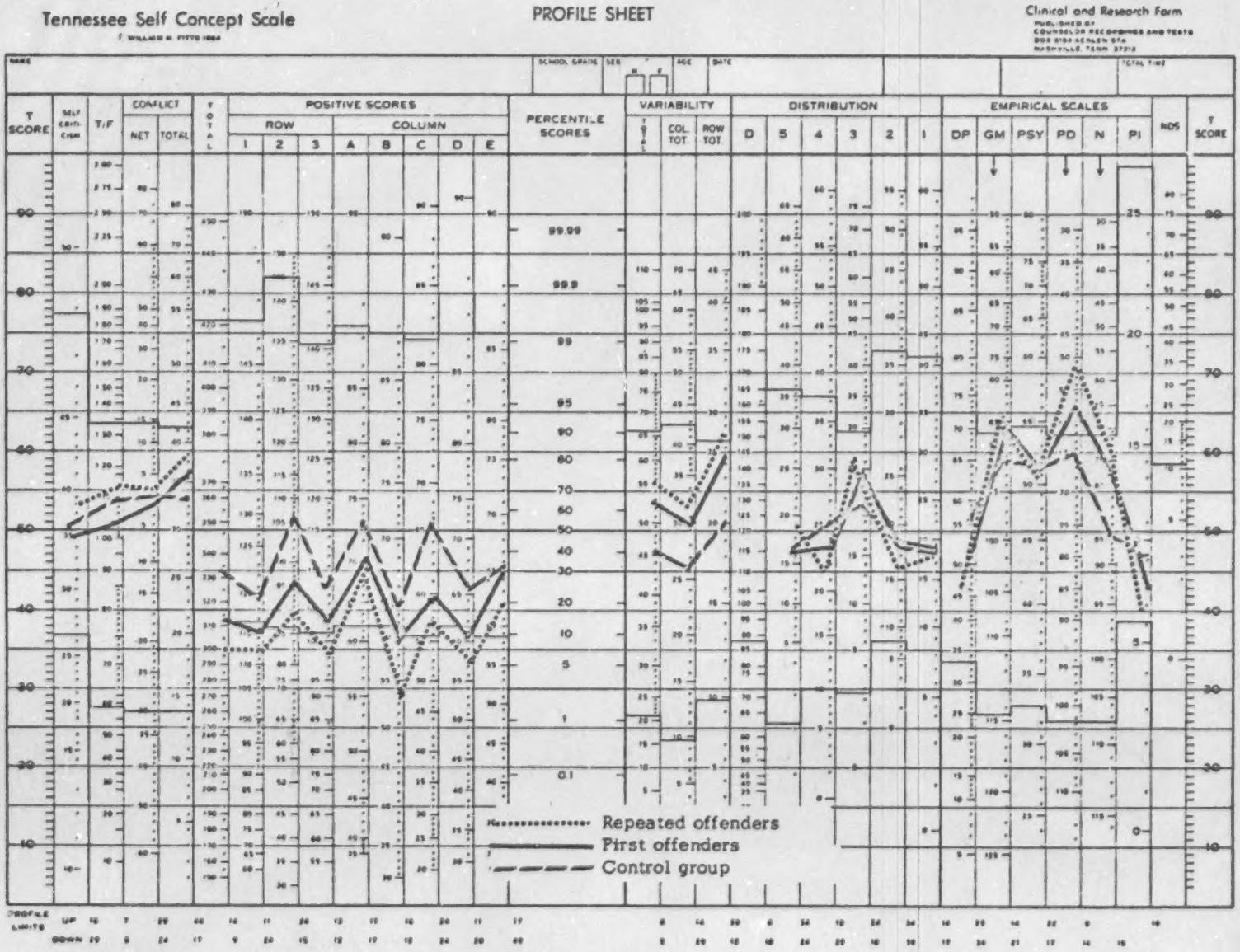

Fig. 7. Profiles of juvenile offender groups and control group

Table VI

Correlations Between MMPI Scores and The Tennessee Self Concept Scale

MMPI Scores	Scores on Tennessee Self Concept Scale: SC	Tot. P	Row 1	Row 2	Row 3	Col. A	Col. B	Col. C	Col. D	Col. E	Tot. V	Col. V	Row V	S	T/F	Conflict Net	Conflict Tot.	Distribution 5	Distribution 4	Distribution 3	Distribution 2	Empirical Scales 1	DP	GM	Psy	PD	N	PI	NDS
	(.26)	(.28)	(.28)	(.29)	(.25)	(.22)	(.34)	(.29)	(.24)	(.21)	(.33)	(.35)	(.27)	(.34)	(.18)	(.20)	(.20)	(.27)	(.32)	(.42)	(.31)	(.32)	(.26)	(.22)	(.24)	(.26)	(.29)	(.21)	(.22)
?	.01	-.17	-.14	-.15	-.20	-.08	-.22	-.16	-.14	-.12	.16	.19	.08	-.17	-.09	-.02	.04	-.05	-.12	.25	-.01	-.11	-.16	.15	-.03	.18	.15	-.08	.10
	(.56)	(.39)	(.36)	(.37)	(.42)	(.38)	(.40)	(.37)	(.38)	(.35)	(.29)	(.29)	(.32)	(.33)	(.22)	(.25)	(.35)	(.30)	(.26)	(.34)	(.29)	(.33)	(.49)	(.34)	(.28)	(.42)	(.38)	(.22)	(.22)
L	-.48	.19	.14	.22	.19	-.01	.22	.16	.27	.15	.08	-.02	.19	.16	.05	.02	.17	.11	-.13	-.12	-.05	.18	.35	-.16	.15	-.27	-.12	.02	.05
	(.34)	(.63)	(.62)	(.55)	(.63)	(.53)	(.45)	(.63)	(.61)	(.63)	(.37)	(.34)	(.37)	(.47)	(.56)	(.61)	(.42)	(.55)	(.47)	(.34)	(.43)	(.45)	(.57)	(.68)	(.60)	(.57)	(.56)	(.52)	(.59)
F	.05	-.37	-.42	-.28	-.37	-.31	-.22	-.28	-.37	-.41	.09	.00	.16	-.01	.38	.42	.26	.11	.07	.04	-.19	-.11	-.17	.49	.48	.26	.30	-.42	.45
	(.40)	(.41)	(.38)	(.39)	(.43)	(.42)	(.27)	(.35)	(.42)	(.46)	(.34)	(.38)	(.25)	(.28)	(.47)	(.58)	(.33)	(.30)	(.22)	(.32)	(.29)	(.29)	(.42)	(.42)	(.41)	(.39)	(.37)	(.45)	(.45)
K	-.24	.35	.29	.35	.35	.28	.19	.29	.36	.36	-.13	-.14	-.07	.04	-.37	-.40	-.18	-.09	-.12	-.07	.24	.13	.29	-.39	.27	-.28	-.28	.42	-.41
	(.19)	(.43)	(.45)	(.39)	(.46)	(.58)	(.25)	(.48)	(.29)	(.44)	(.35)	(.33)	(.43)	(.26)	(.31)	(.43)	(.47)	(.33)	(.27)	(.30)	(.29)	(.18)	(.33)	(.48)	(.49)	(.29)	(.54)	(.59)	(.59)
Ma	.11	-.34	-.38	-.25	-.35	-.53	-.04	-.40	-.20	-.29	.19	.02	.33	.04	.18	.28	.27	.19	-.10	.04	-.14	-.05	-.19	.39	.34	.10	.50	-.47	.53
	(.30)	(.34)	(.40)	(.26)	(.38)	(.53)	(.22)	(.37)	(.24)	(.37)	(.43)	(.38)	(.53)	(.23)	(.35)	(.35)	(.42)	(.37)	(.50)	(.22)	(.37)	(.28)	(.18)	(.38)	(.45)	(.23)	(.50)	(.44)	(.52)
Ma+K	.01	-.20	-.26	-.09	-.21	-.42	.04	-.29	-.04	-.14	.13	-.05	.31	.05	.01	.10	.20	.14	-.15	.00	-.03	.00	-.07	.23	.22	-.03	.39	-.29	.36
	(.38)	(.58)	(.57)	(.54)	(.55)	(.63)	(.42)	(.59)	(.48)	(.51)	(.39)	(.27)	(.48)	(.34)	(.22)	(.27)	(.38)	(.38)	(.32)	(.28)	(.24)	(.31)	(.49)	(.54)	(.46)	(.44)	(.71)	(.42)	(.55)
D	-.01	-.52	-.50	-.47	-.50	-.60	-.22	-.55	-.35	-.47	.27	.10	.36	-.13	.04	.11	.24	-.04	.01	.10	.13	-.18	-.40	.48	.36	.26	.68	-.34	.46
	(.30)	(.27)	(.30)	(.28)	(.29)	(.47)	(.34)	(.40)	(.21)	(.25)	(.53)	(.53)	(.51)	(.29)	(.48)	(.51)	(.49)	(.43)	(.40)	(.30)	(.41)	(.24)	(.25)	(.25)	(.39)	(.29)	(.47)	(.40)	(.43)
Hy	-.06	-.20	-.22	-.15	-.22	-.35	-.03	-.36	-.06	-.06	.17	.00	.33	-.04	-.20	-.13	.03	-.01	-.13	.06	.12	-.02	-.17	-.17	.05	.01	.41	-.16	.21
	(.37)	(.56)	(.53)	(.54)	(.54)	(.46)	(.47)	(.56)	(.60)	(.47)	(.46)	(.36)	(.47)	(.40)	(.39)	(.40)	(.37)	(.41)	(.38)	(.33)	(.38)	(.44)	(.49)	(.57)	(.39)	(.51)	(.61)	(.49)	(.56)
Pd	.28	-.45	-.42	-.45	-.40	-.24	-.33	-.47	-.53	-.30	.31	.21	.32	-.02	.15	.19	.22	.09	-.01	.04	-.05	-.11	-.40	-.49	.13	.48	.47	-.39	.44
	(.30)	(.44)	(.43)	(.43)	(.43)	(.37)	(.49)	(.50)	(.52)	(.25)	(.44)	(.40)	(.46)	(.38)	(.25)	(.29)	(.30)	(.34)	(.26)	(.35)	(.39)	(.38)	(.42)	(.44)	(.35)	(.49)	(.47)	(.31)	(.39)
Pd+K	.18	-.30	-.30	-.30	-.25	-.12	-.26	-.35	-.39	-.14	.25	.15	.29	-.01	-.00	.01	.14	.05	-.06	.02	.06	-.06	-.29	-.33	.01	.37	.36	-.21	.27
	(.33)	(.30)	(.31)	(.27)	(.31)	(.31)	(.31)	(.28)	(.26)	(.34)	(.40)	(.34)	(.37)	(.35)	(.30)	(.34)	(.29)	(.31)	(.34)	(.35)	(.26)	(.37)	(.33)	(.32)	(.32)	(.36)	(.33)	(.28)	(.34)
Mf	-.01	-.06	-.04	-.09	-.04	-.15	.04	-.09	-.03	-.03	-.01	.01	-.01	-.10	-.01	-.05	-.02	-.06	-.07	.14	.05	-.07	-.16	-.01	.02	-.03	.19	-.08	.09
	(.36)	(.54)	(.55)	(.49)	(.53)	(.53)	(.39)	(.53)	(.46)	(.50)	(.32)	(.25)	(.38)	(.51)	(.49)	(.52)	(.37)	(.51)	(.37)	(.46)	(.50)	(.49)	(.48)	(.57)	(.47)	(.37)	(.55)	(.53)	(.53)
Pa	.01	-.35	-.37	-.28	-.35	-.37	-.18	-.33	-.30	-.33	.11	.06	.13	.02	.30	.34	.19	.13	.00	.04	-.19	-.06	-.19	-.43	.39	.18	.34	-.40	.43
	(.33)	(.70)	(.67)	(.65)	(.70)	(.68)	(.50)	(.71)	(.61)	(.63)	(.44)	(.43)	(.42)	(.36)	(.33)	(.38)	(.32)	(.32)	(.41)	(.40)	(.45)	(.43)	(.59)	(.69)	(.50)	(.53)	(.74)	(.57)	(.62)
Pt	.18	-.62	-.56	-.58	-.63	-.62	-.32	-.64	-.49	-.57	.24	.12	.29	-.13	.25	.31	.18	.01	.10	.12	-.07	-.21	-.50	.62	.62	.37	.68	-.53	.60
	(.39)	(.60)	(.58)	(.54)	(.63)	(.65)	(.42)	(.66)	(.41)	(.59)	(.34)	(.25)	(.48)	(.46)	(.32)	(.39)	(.33)	(.49)	(.36)	(.40)	(.32)	(.38)	(.51)	(.57)	(.45)	(.40)	(.64)	(.52)	(.54)
Pt+K	.07	-.55	-.51	-.49	-.56	-.60	-.28	-.61	-.38	-.47	.21	.05	.32	-.13	.06	.12	.10	-.05	.04	.11	.08	-.18	-.44	.53	.35	-.28	.68	-.39	.48
	(.33)	(.67)	(.68)	(.62)	(.63)	(.61)	(.46)	(.60)	(.63)	(.67)	(.34)	(.34)	(.30)	(.33)	(.46)	(.36)	(.39)	(.32)	(.34)	(.36)	(.33)	(.40)	(.52)	(.72)	(.56)	(.56)	(.67)	(.61)	(.68)
Sc	.19	-.58	-.57	-.51	-.57	-.50	-.37	-.53	-.51	-.55	.15	.07	.19	-.07	.38	.43	.26	.10	.07	.11	-.19	-.18	-.41	.65	.45	.40	.56	-.55	.63
	(.35)	(.60)	(.62)	(.55)	(.58)	(.53)	(.46)	(.58)	(.57)	(.55)	(.37)	(.38)	(.39)	(.35)	(.43)	(.48)	(.37)	(.31)	(.22)	(.36)	(.35)	(.37)	(.47)	(.68)	(.58)	(.47)	(.61)	(.50)	(.61)
Sc+K	.11	-.55	-.57	-.47	-.54	-.49	-.37	-.52	-.46	-.51	.13	.02	.21	-.08	.28	.33	.24	.06	.03	.11	-.10	-.17	-.37	.62	.42	.37	.56	-.47	.57
	(.45)	(.34)	(.33)	(.32)	(.35)	(.38)	(.24)	(.34)	(.36)	(.37)	(.24)	(.26)	(.29)	(.28)	(.54)	(.55)	(.37)	(.37)	(.41)	(.28)	(.39)	(.31)	(.30)	(.37)	(.47)	(.31)	(.35)	(.35)	(.44)
Si	.12	-.04	-.03	-.04	-.03	-.03	.01	-.01	-.11	-.01	.04	.10	-.02	.05	.36	.37	.18	.17	.00	.01	-.26	-.03	.05	.12	.26	.01	-.02	-.17	.20
	(.43)	(.41)	(.36)	(.43)	(.38)	(.30)	(.34)	(.39)	(.43)	(.43)	(.36)	(.29)	(.35)	(.43)	(.51)	(.49)	(.47)	(.47)	(.42)	(.34)	(.32)	(.35)	(.38)	(.39)	(.42)	(.37)	(.36)	(.33)	(.42)
	(.43)	(.69)	(.67)	(.64)	(.69)	(.69)	(.50)	(.64)	(.55)	(.71)	(.40)	(.44)	(.42)	(.28)	(.38)	(.40)	(.48)	(.28)	(.25)	(.30)	(.23)	(.29)	(.59)	(.68)	(.56)	(.51)	(.73)	(.57)	(.65)
	(.34)	(.52)	(.51)	(.52)	(.50)	(.62)	(.31)	(.44)	(.42)	(.55)	(.40)	(.37)	(.40)	(.47)	(.44)	(.50)	(.44)	(.48)	(.42)	(.42)	(.46)	(.46)	(.37)	(.57)	(.55)	(.36)	(.54)	(.61)	(.61)
Es	.03	-.44	.43	.40	.42	.53	.20	.37	.34	.43	-.15	-.10	-.16	.04	-.41	-.44	-.28	-.08	-.09	-.07	.20	.13	.24	-.51	-.51	-.21	-.43	.48	-.55

$r \pm .20 = .05$ Lower numbers are Pearson r
$r \pm .25 = .01$ Upper numbers in parentheses are Eta

Note: The correlation ratio (Eta) is a measure of the strength of a relationship and not the direction. It always carries a positive sign. The underlying direction of Eta may sometimes, but not always, be noted from its corresponding r.

Table VII

Correlations Between Tennessee Self Concept Scale and Edwards Personal Preference Schedule
N = 66

Edwards Scales	Scores on Tennessee Self Concept Scale																												
		Tot.	Row	Row	Row	Col.	Col.	Col.	Col.	Col.	Tot.	Col.	Row			Conflict		Distribution						Empirical Scales					
	SC	P	1	2	3	A	B	C	D	E	V	V	V	D	T/F	Net	Tot.	5	4	3	2	1	DP	CM	Fav	PD	M	FI	NDS
Achievement	(.33)	(.61)	(.61)	(.59)	(.65)	(.49)	(.48)	(.52)	(.74)	(.54)	(.54)	(.57)	(.39)	(.57)	(.30)	(.48)	(.36)	(.57)	(.60)	(.49)	(.37)	(.60)	(.47)	(.57)	(.37)	(.46)	(.57)	(.56)	(.61)
	-.14	-.43	-.35	-.35	-.44	-.37	-.36	-.35	-.61	-.34	.11	.14	.01	-.31	-.20	-.18	-.11	-.37	.19	.28	.27	-.27	-.29	-.44	.18	-.20	-.43	-.04	.17
Deference	(.54)	(.16)	(.25)	(.25)	(.27)	(.20)	(.33)	(.09)	(.26)	(.25)	(.39)	(.46)	(.31)	(.22)	(.42)	(.46)	(.36)	(.22)	(.28)	(.27)	(.41)	(.23)	(.38)	(.24)	(.48)	(.34)	(.18)	(.45)	(.30)
	-.31	.10	.17	-.02	.21	.07	.15	.08	.09	.10	.11	.13	.02	.10	.09	.13	.03	.08	-.12	-.04	-.12	.11	.23	.21	.27	.15	.11	-.02	.01
Order	(.47)	(.20)	(.28)	(.17)	(.26)	(.43)	(.33)	(.18)	(.27)	(.36)	(.25)	(.26)	(.45)	(.32)	(.42)	(.40)	(.24)	(.32)	(.26)	(.45)	(.29)	(.25)	(.36)	(.16)	(.45)	(.27)	(.31)	(.36)	(.44)
	-.47	.17	.08	.22	.10	-.11	.32	.15	.20	.18	-.24	-.27	-.15	05	.17	.18	.01	.00	-.06	.01	-.19	.06	.35	.11	.29	.20	.06	-.03	.13
Exhibition	(.48)	(.65)	(.54)	(.64)	(.65)	(.44)	(.57)	(.65)	(.62)	(.62)	(.43)	(.40)	(.53)	(.40)	(.55)	(.53)	(.29)	(.40)	(.43)	(.39)	(.44)	(.35)	(.63)	(.57)	(.48)	(.58)	(.54)	(.43)	(.48)
	.17	-.18	-.15	-.12	-.27	-.09	-.19	-.13	-.26	-.09	.04	.04	.08	-.15	-.35	-.38	-.02	-.17	.18	.02	.25	-.08	-.27	-.16	-.14	-.14	-.14	.03	-.11
Autonomy	(.43)	(.37)	(.31)	(.33)	(.49)	(.39)	(.41)	(.35)	(.43)	(.28)	(.34)	(.34)	(.26)	(.28)	(.47)	(.37)	(.29)	(.28)	(.15)	(.26)	(.40)	(.20)	(.42)	(.34)	(.31)	(.45)	(.42)	(.34)	(.44)
	.01	-.31	-.31	-.18	-.36	-.21	-.41	-.20	-.31	-.23	-.02	.00	-.11	-.31	-.28	-.22	-.17	-.26	.08	.25	.00	-.26	-.28	-.29	.13	-.36	-.12	-.11	.16
Affiliation	(.50)	(.38)	(.35)	(.27)	(.49)	(.43)	(.52)	(.36)	(.44)	(.37)	(.30)	(.31)	(.23)	(.41)	(.32)	(.34)	(.29)	(.41)	(.36)	(.39)	(.35)	(.39)	(.46)	(.50)	(.27)	(.28)	(.40)	(.35)	(.47)
	-.07	.24	.20	.18	.29	.09	.30	.19	.29	.22	-.06	.06	.08	.15	.31	.33	.01	.15	.03	-.13	-.13	.06	.26	.24	.10	.19	.13	.07	-.10
Intreception	(.32)	(.25)	(.28)	(.32)	(.15)	(.16)	(.21)	(.17)	(.44)	(.21)	(.19)	(.17)	(.40)	(.30)	(.21)	(.18)	(.35)	(.30)	(.26)	(.42)	(.19)	(.19)	(.24)	(.20)	(.47)	(.38)	(.17)	(.42)	(.42)
	-.07	.12	.12	.06	.15	.15	.14	.11	.03	.08	.09	.04	.16	.15	.10	.10	.04	.13	.07	-.15	-.05	.13	.13	.02	-.12	.13	.14	.16	-.21
Succorance	(.30)	(.45)	(.49)	(.43)	(.36)	(.60)	(.38)	(.52)	(.25)	(.48)	(.25)	(.26)	(.42)	(.54)	(.36)	(.29)	(.26)	(.34)	(.15)	(.36)	(.35)	(.34)	(.41)	(.40)	(.53)	(.36)	(.55)	(.24)	(.33)
	.06	-.01	.01	.04	-.12	-.03	.02	.04	.02	-.06	-.15	-.17	-.10	-.13	-.07	-.11	-.13	-.11	-.02	.10	-.02	-.09	-.17	.01	-.12	.03	-.06	-.05	-.03
Dominance	(.44)	(.25)	(.29)	(.29)	(.29)	(.35)	(.31)	(.33)	(.28)	(.36)	(.45)	(.45)	(.22)	(.29)	(.33)	(.53)	(.41)	(.29)	(.31)	(.25)	(.32)	(.36)	(.21)	(.29)	(.47)	(.27)	(.31)	(.36)	(.30)
	.14	-.12	-.10	-.14	-.09	-.04	-.21	-.06	-.11	-.09	.05	.08	-.05	-.14	-.21	-.37	.04	-.16	.14	.15	.02	.03	-.21	-.05	-.29	-.13	-.16	.04	.18
Abasement	(.34)	(.32)	(.28)	(.32)	(.32)	(.29)	(.31)	(.41)	(.39)	(.39)	(.30)	(.34)	(.34)	(.18)	(.55)	(.60)	(.35)	(.18)	(.23)	(.20)	(.46)	(.24)	(.34)	(.31)	(.45)	(.43)	(.33)	(.37)	(.47)
	.21	-.05	.03	-.16	.09	.00	.06	-.20	.02	-.10	.30	.28	.25	.14	.24	.29	.20	.17	.03	-.14	-.03	.02	-.07	-.05	-.09	.01	-.17	.06	.07
Nurturance	(.21)	(.41)	(.40)	(.37)	(.49)	(.32)	(.51)	(.32)	(.60)	(.24)	(.38)	(.38)	(.29)	(.30)	(.35)	(.41)	(.23)	(.30)	(.47)	(.35)	(.30)	(.13)	(.30)	(.44)	(.27)	(.26)	(.36)	(.39)	(.35)
	.00	.25	.13	.27	.26	.19	.25	.14	.36	.15	-.15	-.19	.05	.15	.24	.28	.04	.17	.01	-.14	-.09	.06	.23	.21	-.04	.20	.24	.17	-.15
Change	(.26)	(.25)	(.24)	(.24)	(.32)	(.27)	(.44)	(.13)	(.24)	(.31)	(.31)	(.33)	(.50)	(.39)	(.36)	(.45)	(.33)	(.39)	(.32)	(.52)	(.22)	(.27)	(.30)	(.30)	(.62)	(.29)	(.19)	(.42)	(.34)
	-.21	.06	.16	.05	-.04	.04	.17	.03	-.08	.12	.00	.00	.12	-.08	-.17	-.19	-.01	-.10	.07	.04	.12	-.03	.10	.08	.14	.19	-.02	.24	-.12
Endurance	(.17)	(.27)	(.30)	(.44)	(.12)	(.17)	(.39)	(.30)	(.17)	(.31)	(.52)	(.60)	(.32)	(.25)	(.45)	(.33)	(.34)	(.22)	(.44)	(.32)	(.32)	(.26)	(.26)	(.16)	(.29)	(.45)	(.24)	(.42)	(.35)
	-.06	.04	-.06	.00	.11	.06	.03	.04	.04	.00	.05	.05	.02	.24	.20	.22	.02	.25	-.31	-.05	-.24	.21	.25	.03	.17	-.04	.16	-.25	.17
Heterosexual	(.35)	(.54)	(.48)	(.52)	(.52)	(.36)	(.38)	(.48)	(.54)	(.49)	(.26)	(.30)	(.43)	(.55)	(.58)	(.41)	(.27)	(.55)	(.42)	(.51)	(.47)	(.45)	(.37)	(.54)	(.47)	(.42)	(.58)	(.28)	(.26)
	.27	.19	.15	.20	.09	.21	.01	.21	.18	.15	-.13	-.09	-.16	.11	.06	.02	-.04	.13	-.03	-.19	-.07	.06	-.02	.19	-.21	.06	.21	.04	-.02
Aggression	(.49)	(.26)	(.25)	(.27)	(.37)	(.18)	(.36)	(.27)	(.30)	(.26)	(.25)	(.31)	(.26)	(.24)	(.46)	(.43)	(.36)	(.24)	(.14)	(.35)	(.29)	(.22)	(.47)	(.32)	(.31)	(.39)	(.26)	(.31)	(.29)
	.10	-.22	-.19	-.18	-.25	-.13	-.28	-.22	-.21	-.19	.05	.06	-.08	-.14	-.25	-.22	.09	-.09	-.07	.13	.13	-.14	-.30	-.25	-.10	-.28	-.19	-.16	.16
Consistency	(.40)	(.38)	(.38)	(.43)	(.36)	(.37)	(.35)	(.42)	(.49)	(.22)	(.37)	(.44)	(.35)	(.47)	(.38)	(.41)	(.29)	(.47)	(.44)	(.46)	(.38)	(.47)	(.36)	(.30)	(.58)	(.45)	(.39)	(.33)	(.55)
	.06	.00	-.03	.01	.02	-.03	.05	.07	-.01	-.05	-.06	-.07	.11	-.02	-.08	-.15	-.04	-.06	.10	-.03	.08	-.02	-.14	.05	-.10	.19	-.09	.23	-.17

$r \pm .24 = .05$ From Sundby

$r \pm .31 = .01$

Lower figures are Pearson r
Upper figures in parentheses are Eta

90

Table VIII

Correlations Between Tennessee Self Concept Scale and Selected Personality Measures

Other Tests	SC	Tot. P	Row 1	Row 2	Row 3	Col. A	Col. B	Col. C	Col. D	Col. E	Tot. V	Col. V	Row V	D	T/F	Conflict Net	Conflict Tot.	Distribution 3	Distribution 4	Distribution 5	Empirical Scales 2	1	DP	CM	Pay	PD	M	PI	MDS
Taylor Anxiety	.39	-.70	-.67	-.52	-.71	-.56	-.59	-.67	-.63	-.50	.65	.30	.46	-.60	.10	.13	.49	-.24	.21	.36	.19	-.65	-.69	.62	.06	.39	.66	-.17	.26
Cornell Medical Index	.38	-.56	-.57	-.62	-.61	-.65	-.66	-.58	-.28	-.41	.38	.22	.69	-.26	.16	.25	.60	-.15	.2.	.22	.07	-.31	-.69	.60	-.19	.38	.67	-.15	.63
Inventory of Feelings	-.27	.64	.66	.15	.71	.52	.63	.72	.36	.50	-.02	.06	-.31	.34	.24	.02	-.23	.32	-.18	-.33	-.33	.50	.29	-.58	-.18	-.04	-.60	-.02	-.37
California F-Scale	.02	-.21	-.33	.10	-.10	-.12	-.24	-.02	.06	-.21	-.65	-.39	-.56	-.66	.05	.07	-.29	-.68	.60	.63	.66	-.56	.02	.24	.22	.13	.16	.16	-.25
	N = 68, r = ± .23 significant at .05, r = ± .30 significant at .01																												
Agreement	(.30)	(.36)	(.60)	(.30)	(.37)	(.65)	(.26)	(.60)	(.37)	(.31)	(.27)	(.35)	(.15)	(.26)	(.67)	(.65)	(.38)	(.67)	(.56)	(.28)	(.38)	(.23)	(.37)	(.36)	(.33)	(.26)	(.51)	(.68)	(.3
Response Set	.24	-.19	-.01	-.26	-.24	.02	-.26	-.24	-.21	-.05	.26	.33	.09	.00	.65	.65	.26	.24	.16	.02	-.23	-.16	.02	.19	.24	.23	.26	-.37	.24
Locus of Control	(.30)	(.66)	(.66)	(.33)	(.53)	(.38)	(.60)	(.65)	(.66)	(.63)	(.27)	(.26)	(.35)	(.29)	(.29)	(.28)	(.27)	(.25)	(.66)	(.38)	(.27)	(.30)	(.30)	(.59)	(.62)	(.37)	(.35)	(.50)	(.50)
Introversion	.08	-.63	-.61	-.27	-.51	-.21	-.34	-.61	-.38	-.35	.12	.02	.28	-.29	.11	.20	.20	-.08	-.10	.34	.05	-.27	-.26	.54	.33	.34	.38	-.63	.30
Neuroticism	(.39)	(.56)	(.54)	(.67)	(.55)	(.39)	(.38)	(.55)	(.50)	(.64)	(.28)	(.20)	(.33)	(.61)	(.26)	(.21)	(.32)	(.60)	(.25)	(.39)	(.31)	(.37)	(.53)	(.51)	(.36)	(.56)	(.66)	(.38)	(.51)
	.07	.53	.36	.65	.65	.29	.27	.51	.60	.61	-.07	.00	-.17	.60	.20	.12	-.25	.38	-.08	-.36	-.30	.36	.67	-.50	-.21	-.36	-.60	.33	-.66
Maladjustment	(.35)	(.67)	(.57)	(.60)	(.65)	(.49)	(.67)	(.71)	(.63)	(.53)	(.35)	(.35)	(.39)	(.38)	(.61)	(.65)	(.37)	(.22)	(.36)	(.53)	(.36)	(.60)	(.69)	(.64)	(.67)	(.59)	(.36)	(.66)	(.62)
	.16	-.64	-.55	-.57	-.63	-.39	-.39	-.68	-.63	-.65	.28	.15	.37	-.36	.29	.63	.24	-.05	-.11	.50	-.05	-.38	-.60	.66	.67	.52	.71	-.60	.62
	From Hall (1966). N = 50, r = ± .28 significant at .05, r = ± .36 significant at .01																												
Smith's Conformity Measure:																													
Denial of:																													
Strong Issue	-.17	.12	.26	.04	.02	.12	.11	.14	-.04	.13	.15	.16	.04	.14	.20	.15	.06	.13	.02	-.14	-.22	.17	.13	.08	-.04	.09	.23	-.01	.10
Mild Issue	.17	.00	.19	-.10	-.04	.14	-.05	-.12	.01	.09	.22	.23	.06	.12	.05	.03	.17	.13	-.07	-.09	-.14	.11	-.05	.07	-.09	-.09	.05	-.08	.07
	N = 66, r ± .24 = .05, r ± .31 = .01																												
Shift Under:																													
Mild Pressure	(.28)	(.51)	(.62)	(.37)	(.51)	(.61)	(.45)	(.44)	(.54)	(.51)	(.23)	(.27)	(.35)	(.43)	(.31)	(.17)	(.36)	(.36)	(.20)	(.61)	(.61)	(.61)	(.67)	(.46)	(.36)	(.36)	(.45)	(.26)	(.27)
Strong Issue	.02	-.09	.02	-.08	-.16	-.07	-.08	-.11	-.07	.00	.06	.11	-.20	-.03	.00	-.01	.00	.06	.00	-.05	-.08	-.07	-.13	-.07	-.20	-.00	-.06	-.12	.06
	(.13)	(.25)	(.26)	(.31)	(.30)	(.25)	(.38)	(.23)	(.32)	(.16)	(.36)	(.42)	(.19)	(.29)	(.37)	(.33)	(.67)	(.23)	(.35)	(.36)	(.49)	(.36)	(.30)	(.30)	(.23)	(.30)	(.15)	(.57)	(.63)
Mild Issue	.10	-.02	.19	-.19	-.01	.15	-.07	-.05	-.01	.14	.28	.36	-.05	.11	.00	-.13	.38	.12	-.21	.08	.35	.25	-.08	.13	-.08	-.03	.04	-.37	.14
	N = 35, r ± .33 = .04, r ± .42 = .01																												
Shift Under:																													
Strong Pressure																													
Strong Issue	-.48	.19	.31	.16	-.01	.18	.16	.30	-.07	.15	.08	.05	.12	.09	.21	.17	.04	.02	.10	-.16	-.23	.15	.22	.07	.08	.13	.36	.14	.12
Mild Issue	.18	-.04	.10	-.02	-.22	.11	-.14	-.23	-.01	.08	.06	.03	.07	-.04	-.02	.05	.01	-.01	.08	-.10	.16	-.13	-.06	-.10	-.09	-.15	.02	.20	.00
	N = 31, r ± .35 = .05, r ± .45 = .01																												

(though only the Total P and SC Scores were used). One cannot generalize much from these limited findings, but the implication is that one's self concept is so basic that it does not readily change even though one begins to feel and act differently.

There are many other studies, either completed or underway, which deal with the self concept as a criterion of change. These cannot be reported here. Neverthless, there is considerable evidence that people's concepts of self do change as a result of significant experiences. The Tennessee Self Concept Scale reflects these changes in predicted ways, thus constituting additional evidence for the validity of the instrument.

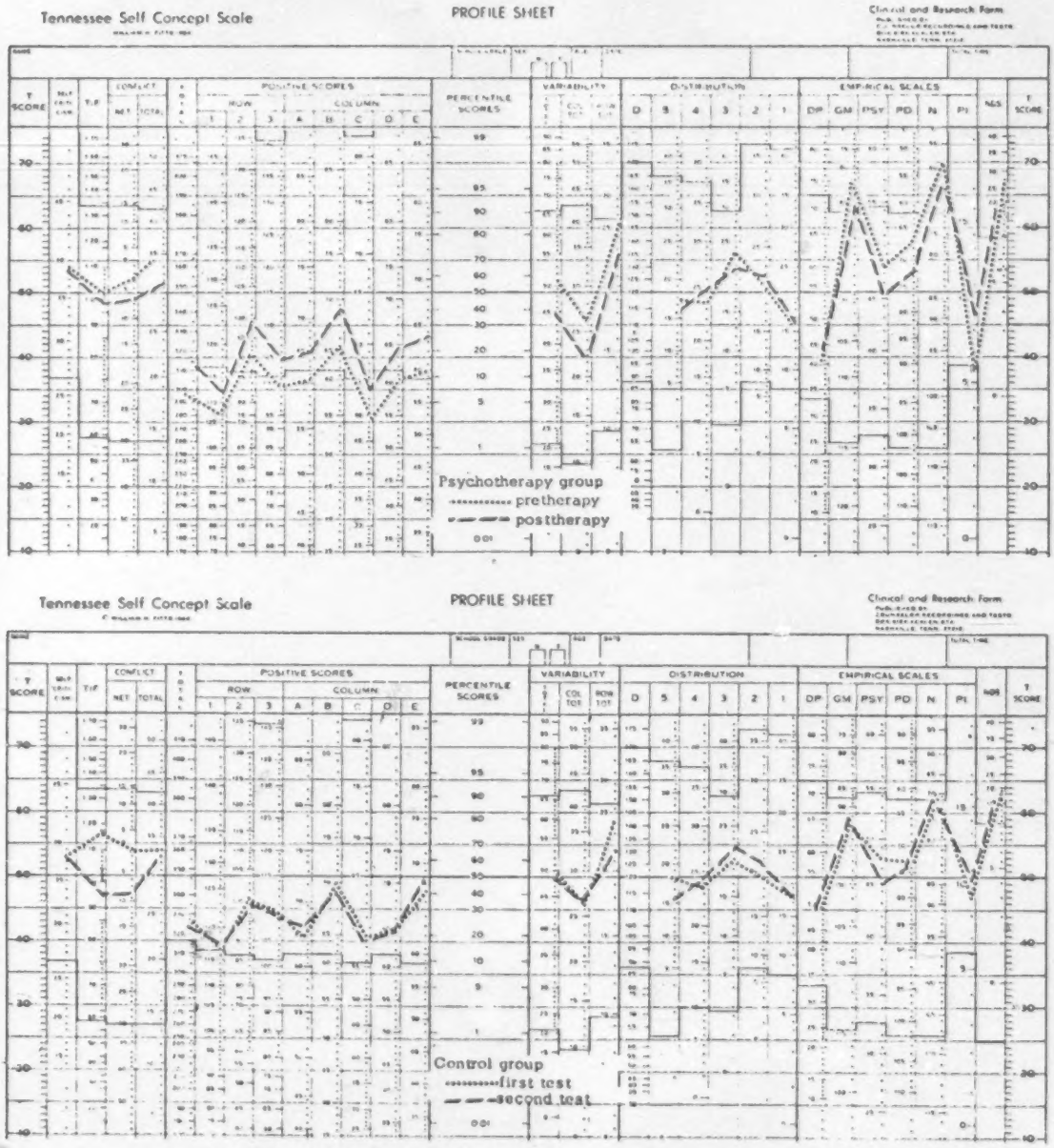

Fig. 8. Test-retest profiles, psychotherapy and control groups

CONVERSION OF DATA FROM OLD FORMS OF THE TENNESSEE SELF CONCEPT SCALE

Many workers in many places have used the original mimeographed materials of this Scale (Fitts, 1956) and may wish to compare their data to the data provided in this manual. The new materials involve some changes from the old. The information provided here should enable others to compare findings from the old forms with the equivalent data for the new forms.

Only those scores in which there has been some change are listed below. On scores where the scale values have changed it should be emphasized that the T-Score values remain the same, as do the standard deviations. Adding a constant to raw scores does not change their relative position on the standard score distribution.

For users who might wish to transfer data from the old forms directly onto the new forms, this is best accomplished by circling the original responses onto thenew Answer Sheet packet. The responses would in this way be recorded through the attached carbon sheet to the new Score Sheet and the responses to the negative items would automatically be reversed in the process. It would then be possible to complete the scoring (either manually or by computer scoring service) for all of the scores now utilized on the new forms, especially the C and R form.

Old Form	New Form	Score Values on New Form
L Score	Self Criticism (SC)	No change
P-N Net Differences	Net Conflict	No change
P-N Total Differences	Total Conflict	No change
Net-Positive	Positive	
Total Net-Positive	Total P (Positive)	Add constant of 270 to old scores
Row 1 - Abstract Description Self	Identity	add constant of 90 to old score
Row 2 - Self Satisfaction	Same	Add constant of 90 to old score
Row 3 - Functioning	Behavior	Add constant of 90 to old score
Col. A - Physical Characteristics etc.	Physical Self	Add constant of 54
Col. B - Moral-ethical Characteristics	Moral-Ethical Self	Add constant of 54
Col. C - Psychological Characteristics	Personal Self	add constant of 54
Col. D - Primary Group Membership	Family Self	Add constant of 54
Col. E - Secondary Group Membership	Social Self	Add constant of 54
Consistency Scores	Variability Scores	No change
DP	DP	Add constant of 6
GM	GM	Add constant of 90
Psy	Psy	Add constant of 34
PD	PD	Add constant of 72
N	N	Add constant of 60
	Time	New Score

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APPENDIX D

OCCUPATIONS OF RESPONDENTS BY SEX AND AGE (AGE INDICATED IN PARENTHESIS)

Males

Butler (44)
School Teacher (30)
Student (25)
Waiter (40)
Architect (47)
Writer (32)
Executive Secretary (27)
Bartender (27)
Sheet Metal Worker (26)
Actor (23)
Head Waiter/Captain (27)
Probation Officer (31)
Bookkeeper (26)
School Teacher (23)
Student Teacher (30)
Insurance Adjuster (31)
Nurse (37)
Pilot Instructor (27)
Typesetter/Editor (22)
Accountant (26)
Student (23)
Teletype Operator (29)
Floral Designer (25)
Stock Broker (28)
Claims Examiner for Unemployment Compensation (27)
Student (21)

Females

Secretary (21)
School Teacher (39)
Cook and Waitress (25)
Dental Assistant (32)
Nurse (23)
Unemployed (32)
Bookkeeper (21)
Keypunch Supervisor (31)
Advertising Director (24)
Operating Room Nurse (32)
Computer Programmer (32)
Unemployed (31)
Secretary (34)
Machine Operator (34)
Small Store Manager (28)
Secretary (32)
High School Teacher (29)
Real Estate Salesperson (23)
Commercial Artist (34)
School Teacher (25)
Textile Designer/Artist (30)
School Teacher (30)
Beauty Shop Owner (33)
Bookkeeper (35)
Administrative Representative (40)
Office Supervisor (46)
Student (20)